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Archaic elements in Greek art and architecture of the fourth century BC, with particular reference to works from Ionia and Caria

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**ARCHAISTIC ELEMENTS IN GREEK ART AND
ARCHITECTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY
BC, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
WORKS FROM IONIA AND CARIA**

by

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D
in the University of London
August 2001**

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ABSTRACT

A number of Archaistic elements appeared in the sculpture and architecture of Asia Minor during the fourth century BC. Many of them are connected with works produced by the Hekatomnid dynasty, the ruling house of Caria during much of the fourth century BC. The main purpose of this thesis is to catalogue and investigate these elements and to try to explain the reasons for their appearance against the background of Archaism in the fourth century BC. One of the most important features was the curled hairstyle, which was used by the female members of the Hekatomnid family. In the first three chapters the use of this hairstyle is examined and its origins traced in the Archaic period in order to determine its Greek or Persian connections. Its continuation into Classical times, and its revival in the late fifth and fourth centuries as an Archaistic feature, are also considered.

Two subsequent chapters discuss further aspects of Archaism in the art and architecture of Asia Minor in the fourth century BC. One examines the preservation or re-introduction of Archaic features in the cult-images or xoana in which the area abounded. The other considers the mentality that lay behind the way in which important temples such as the Ephesian Artemision were rebuilt using elements from their Archaic predecessors, while new monuments like those at Labraunda incorporated features from Archaic architecture in their decoration.

A further chapter reviews the extent and nature of Archaistic works of art from Mainland Greece in the late fifth and fourth centuries, in order to present an overall background against which to judge the examples from Asia Minor.

In the Conclusion the evidence from previous chapters is summarised and an attempt made to draw together the reasons for the appearance of Archaistic elements in the art of Asia Minor, and the relationship with the Archaistic art of Mainland Greece.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA:	Archaeologische Anzeiger
ABV:	Beazley, Attic black-figure vase-painters
ARV:	Beazley, Attic red-figure vase-painters
AJA :	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH :	American Journal of Ancient History
AM :	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung
Ant. Pl.:	Antike Plastik
BICS :	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BSA :	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH :	Cambridge Ancient History
Crd'A:	Critica d'Arte
Ist.Forsch.:	Istanbuler Forschungen
Ist.Mitt. :	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JdI :	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts
JHS :	Journal of Hellenic Studies
ÖJh :	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaeologischen Institutes
Para:	Beazley, Paralipomena: additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters
RE :	Pauly-Wissowa Real Encyclopedie
RIA:	Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale D'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte
RM :	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung
SNG:	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum
ZPE :	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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My interest in Archaistic art arose during my study for the MA degree. The subject of my dissertation was Archaistic Features in Hellenistic art. The present thesis is a continuation of my research into Archaism, and hopefully makes a small contribution to the complicated problem of the beginnings of Archaistic art.

In this acknowledgement I would like to thank all those who have contributed with their help to the completion of the thesis, beginning with my supervisor Prof.G.B.Waywell. His advice and guidance have been significant throughout the years of research. The completion of the thesis would have been impossible without his help. Furthermore I would like to thank Prof.N.Stampolidis, Dr.A.Misiou and Prof.A.Kuhrt for their advice, and Dr.C.Picón for allowing me to consult his thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. P.Higgs for giving me access to BM 1053, and Dr.K.Psaroudakis for drawing my attention to Brahms' thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

As the title of the thesis indicates one of the main aims of this research is to present an analysis of Archaism in the art and architecture of Asia Minor, and particularly in the areas of Ionia and Caria, during the fourth century BC. We shall examine the appearance and development of the Archaistic style through examples from all forms of art, and we shall continually compare this development with the Archaism long noted in Mainland Greece and particularly in Attica. In this way we will offer a fuller picture of Archaism in the Greek world during the late fifth and fourth centuries BC. Furthermore we shall try to examine what the relationship is between Attic and Ionic Archaism. With this general picture of Archaism in mind and with the evidence from Asia Minor, we shall try to support the view already suggested by some scholars that the beginning of the Archaistic style in Greek art can be placed at the end of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries BC. The second aim of this research is to highlight the role of the Hekatomnids in the promotion of Archaism in Asia Minor, to consider how the personal taste and the political aims of a dynasty were expressed through Archaism, and to investigate how the same family sponsored some of the most important buildings with Archaistic elements.

Archaistic art presents two major problems of interpretation which have caused a long debate among scholars. The first one is the question of its origins and the second is the definition of its terminology. To a certain extent the two questions are connected to each other. We consider first of all the terminology. There are

three terms which are repeatedly used in describing the Archaistic style: Archaism (either with lower or upper case), Archaistic and Archaising. If we were to attempt a definition of Archaism we might say that it is the general tendency to reproduce certain forms and features in a period where they no longer exist. The term Archaism does not necessarily refer to the revival and reproduction of Archaic features only. The reproduction of Classical features in the Hellenistic period for example is also a form of Archaism since it happens in a period when these features are not in fashion. In the present thesis, however, Archaism will be taken to mean the revival of features of the Archaic period since there is no reference to periods later than the Classical or to the revival of features from other periods.

In English as in most other European languages two adjectives are employed in describing Archaistic art, “Archaistic” and “Archaising”. The exception is the French language where the single adjective “archaisante” is used to describe all occurrences of this type of art. In the languages where two adjectives exist, the way in which these terms are applied is subjective, since different scholars have perceived and employed them differently. For example, Bulle in 1918 described the general tendency towards Archaism as “Archaistische” (Archaistic), while he used the word “Archaisierende” (Archaising) to characterise a certain group of works, mainly statues in the round, in order to distinguish them from the reliefs which for him were basically the Archaistic works.¹

1. Bulle, 1918.

Becatti in 1941 also distinguished between the terms “arcaistico”(Archaistic) and “arcaizzante”(Archaising) but defined them differently. For him Archaistic should be applied only to sculptures dating from Hellenistic times. Before that he argued that there were only tendencies to Archaism resulting mainly from the preservation and continuity of Archaic features from Archaic times and these tendencies he called Archaising.²

Ridgway bases her distinction between Archaistic and Archaising on the quantity of Archaistic features in each work. Archaistic is used for the works where the Archaistic traits are predominant; whereas works where the Archaistic features are in the minority are called Archaising.³

Zagdoun, profiting from the simplicity of the French language already referred to, employs the word “archaisante” without exception regardless of whether the Archaistic features are in the majority or not.⁴

The variation in the application of this terminology brings into question how useful such a distinction is in the discussion and interpretation of Archaistic art. As Fullerton points out in his recent article on the meaning of such terms, this kind of classification is based on subjective speculation about “the mind of the craftsman or culture” which created these works. Such speculation is liable to cause

2. Becatti, 1941: 32-48.

3. Ridgway, 1977: 303.

4. Zagdoun, 1989.

difficulties in the process of interpretation rather than helping it.⁵

Following Zagdoun we shall restrict ourselves to the term “Archaistic” in order to describe features and works of this character in the fourth century BC. It is arguable for example that the heads from the Mausoleum and the Dionysos from the Chalandri present two different qualities of Archaism. In the first example the only Archaistic feature is the curled hairstyle, while in the relief from Chalandri the whole figure is rendered in an Archaistic manner. However both present aspects of the same style, the Archaistic, both express a similar return to forms and features of the past, and both are dated to the same period. In semantic terms there is no clear distinction between the inherent meaning of Archaistic and Archaising, and the extra significances read into them by different scholars, have not been consistently applied. Accordingly in the present thesis we shall employ only the term Archaistic (and Archaism) which will be applied to all kinds of works which present Archaistic features, no matter the relative quantity of these features in each individual work.

Turning now to the other main problem of origination, there has been a lot of discussion during the last hundred years among scholars as to the origin of the Archaistic style. Fullerton distinguishes three different groups of views among scholars according to their response to the problem.⁶

The first view supports the continuity of the Archaistic style from

5. Fullerton, 1998: 69-77.

6. Fullerton, 1990:2.

the Archaic to the Classical periods. Scholars like Hauser, Bulle, Willers and Ridgway belong to this group. The main difference between them consists in the works they use to support the continuity from one period to the other.⁷ Bulle, for example, attributes many Roman Archaistic statues to lost originals of the Early Classical period.⁸ Hauser, who with Bulle was among the first to have studied the Archaistic style, based his interpretation mainly on literary sources for the style of Kalamis.⁹ Although he dates the first Archaistic works in the fourth century BC, Willers was occupied with the question of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes and its origins. In consequence he tried to support continuity through detailed study of a series of early herms.¹⁰ Willers was the first to distinguish the works into Sub-Archaic and Archaistic. The Sub-Archaic works were creations of the transition period between Archaic and Classical times. Their characteristic is the persistence of the Archaic forms. By the term Archaism Willers means the conscious reference to the forms of the Archaic period. He dates the first Archaistic works to the Severe style.¹¹ Ridgway favours a lingering Archaic style. That is to say, she believes that Archaic elements survived into the fifth century BC, and can be traced in works like the pig-sacrifice relief from the Acropolis.¹²

7. Fullerton, 1990: 2.

8. Bulle, 1918; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

9. Hauser, 1889; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

10. Willers, 1975; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

11. Willers, 1975: 9ff, 21, 56ff.

12. Ridgway, 1977; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

The second view, which is represented by Furtwängler and Schmidt, advocates the existence of a gap between the end of the Archaic period and the appearance of the Archaistic style. Schmidt was the scholar who first suggested a substantial gap between the Archaic period and the introduction of the Archaistic style in the fourth century BC. He supported his argument for the beginning of the style in the fourth century BC by his interpretation of key examples such as the Four Gods base from the Acropolis and a series of Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century BC with Archaistic representations of Athena.¹³ For Schmidt the Archaistic style is formed only by the manneristic works of the fourth century BC. Works of the late fifth century BC such as the Hermes Propylaios or the Hekate Epipyrgidia were "Archaistic tendencies".¹⁴

Furtwängler on the other hand placed the beginning of the Archaistic style slightly earlier, in the late fifth century BC. He based his view on literary sources, as Hauser had before him, and he claimed that Kallimachos was the master who began the style.¹⁵ Rumpf and Bielefeld share also the view that the beginning of the style is in the late fifth century BC. They both see the Archaistic style as an expression of the conservative trends in Athens of that time and the persistence of the majority of the people in adhering to traditional and very ancient forms of religion in contrast to the philosophical theories of the period.¹⁶

13. Schmidt, 1922; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

14. Schmidt, 1922: 55, 56.

15. Furtwängler, 1893: 202-207.

16. Bielefeld, 1954/55: 399-400; Rumpf, 1956: 85-87.

The third view supports an origin of the style in the third century BC. The first who claimed this was Becatti, while Mitchell-Havelock has followed his suggestion. Both of them lower the dating of many Archaistic monuments, such as the already mentioned Four Gods base from the Acropolis, to the Hellenistic period, thus strengthening their perception of the Archaistic style as a creation of Hellenistic art.¹⁷

Last but not least are Zagdoun's and Fullerton's suggestions about the same problem. Starting with Zagdoun, she seems to accept the early fifth century as the starting point of Archaistic art.¹⁸ Fullerton's theory, which is one of the most recent, basically supports an origin in the High Classical period. He cites as evidence of his theory the Hekate of Alkamenes and the Archaistic representations of Athena. Alkamenes' work was, according to Fullerton, an innovative creation which combined Archaic linearity with an otherwise fully Classical garment. This treatment of the representation of the goddess does not derive, in his opinion, from any Archaic or Archaistic predecessors.¹⁹ As for the Archaistic representations of Athena, the first indications come from the late fifth century BC, such as the representation on the neck of an oinochoe from the Agora.²⁰ From this style of image there starts the tradition of Archaistic representations of Athena which leads

17. Becatti, 1940: 82; Becatti, 1941: 35; Mitchell-Havelock, 1965; Fullerton, 1990: 2.

18. Zagdoun, 1989: 31-32.

19. Fullerton, 1990: 7, 8.

20. Green, 1962: 82-89; Harrison, 1965: 52, 62-63.

directly to the similar representations on the Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century BC.²¹

Fullerton emphasises the need to distinguish two problems which concern the origins of the Archaistic style. The first problem is that when the first Archaistic elements occur and when the Archaistic style begins are two different questions, and in consequence we should deal with each one separately. The second problem is that the Archaistic style is an eclectic and retrospective style and examples of this kind are rare before the second century BC.²² Can we, then, suggest an origin of the style before that period?

We hope that the re-examination of the examples, which we shall present in this thesis, will help to support the theory that the beginning of the style occurred well before the second century BC, and is to be placed in fact in the Classical period, i.e. late fifth and fourth centuries BC.

As mentioned above, the main new focus of our examination will be on the evidence from the region of Ionia and Caria. During the second quarter of the fourth century BC there is an interesting manifestation of Archaistic features appearing in this area in both sculpture and architecture, which has tended not to be considered hitherto.

This concentration of material in the second half of the fourth century BC is

21. Fullerton, 1990: 58.

22. Fullerton, 1990: 5.

probably connected with historical events in that area which will be examined. Furthermore a sufficient number of Archaic xoana existed in the area in the period under consideration, some of them of great importance such as the cult-statues of Artemis of Ephesos and Hera of Samos. The material of the thesis covers all the artistic media, sculpture, architecture, painting and coins.

In order to help evaluate the extent and source of influence of Archaistic features, notably the curled hairstyle motif, a detailed investigation is made into the origin and development of this hairstyle in the Daedalic and Archaic periods, with particular reference to the contribution made by Persian or early Greek art. This study forms the subject of the first chapter.

In the second chapter we continue with the investigation of the curled motif in the fifth century BC. We shall consider examples from both sculpture and vase-painting which confirm the survival of the motif within the first half of the century and its revival, as an Archaistic element this time, in the last decades. With regard to the latter a detailed re-examination of the Hermes Propylaios and the Hekate Epipyrgidia of Alkamenes is offered.

The subject of the third chapter is the appearance of the curled hairstyle in the fourth century, particularly in the area of Asia Minor. The most important examples are connected with the Hekatomnid dynasty, and one of the aims of this chapter is to examine the reasons for this connection.

In order to obtain a clearer impression about Archaism in Asia Minor during the fourth century BC, we shall examine in the fourth chapter examples of Archaic cult-images which survived down to the fourth century BC and which may have provided the inspiration for new works of Archaistic style in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Asia Minor was particularly rich in ancient xoana and this makes it an area with a special interest. The main sources of the material evidence have already been collected and discussed by Fleischer in his study of the cult-images in the areas of Asia Minor and Syria.²³

In the fifth chapter the picture of Archaism in the fourth century BC is completed with the presentation for comparative purposes of the much-discussed examples from Mainland Greece and particularly from Attica. Through this examination an overall picture of the style will be given which permits us to consider the problem of the origin and development of Archaistic art as a whole. Furthermore through this examination we shall try to see if there is any connection between the two phenomena, Archaism in Mainland Greece and in Asia Minor. Do they begin at the same time and have a parallel development? Is there any kind of influence from one area to another? Are there any similarities or differences between the one and the other, or can we talk about a unified style?

The sixth chapter is concerned with architecture, notably that of the fourth century BC in Caria and Ionia in which Archaistic elements can be found. Major monuments of the time, such as the Classical temple of Artemis at Ephesos and the

23. Fleischer, 1973; Fleischer, 1978

buildings at Labraunda, include a number of Archaistic elements in their general design or in details. The reasons for this, which are discussed, are various ranging from the impetus to copy ideas and motifs of the Archaic period to a more free adaptation of Archaic features. Although the architectural subject-matter diverges from the sculpture which supplies the main evidence for the thesis, the exercise is felt to be valid, as it helps complete the overall picture of architectural sculptural evidence of Asia Minor in the period under review.

The last part of the thesis consists of a short conclusion. In this section we shall attempt to draw together the discussion from the previous chapters and to review the problem of Archaism on a general basis. We shall try to discuss the questions mentioned above about the possibility of a connection between Attic and Ionic Archaism and under this light to correspond to the aims of this thesis as they are set out at the beginning of this introduction.

Catalogues and lists of relevant material on which discussion is based are placed at the end of each chapter, but a consolidated bibliography at the end of the volume serves the thesis as a whole.

Before proceeding to the examination of the material I would like to add that I have seen in the original the Mausoleum heads and the portrait of Ada in the British Museum, as well as most of the comparative material. Furthermore I have a personal knowledge of the archaeological sites of the Mausoleum in modern Bodrum, the temple of Artemis at Ephesos and the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. I have also seen in the original most of the Archaistic works in Greece of

the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, including the Hekataion in the British School at Athens, examples of Archaistic fourth century Panathenaic amphorae and the Archaistic Dionysos from Chalandri. For the rest of the material I have tried to form an opinion based on the photographs published in the works cited in the bibliography.

1. THE CURLED HAIRSTYLE IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The subject of this chapter is the examination of a specific type of hairstyle, the curled hairstyle which is prevalent in the Archaic period and which forms the basis of identification for much Archaistic art. This hairstyle consists of three rows of snail-shell curls or of very tight curls set one above the other around the forehead of female figures. The most characteristic fourth century example of this hairstyle is a female head from the Mausoleum which is now in the British Museum (BM 1051) (Fig.29). The work represents a woman who has her hair gathered inside a cap or sakkos, apart from the hair on the forehead which is rendered in three rows of tight spiral curls one above the other. Two other examples which came from the sanctuary of Demeter at Priene, now in Berlin, show us a similar hairstyle (Figs. 36, 37). Furthermore the famous head identified as a portrait of Ada, (sister and wife of Idrieus and also sister of Mausolus and Artemisia, who reigned at Halicarnassus 351/0-341 and 334/333-323) which was found inside the temple of Athena at Priene (Fig.34), and the statue of the so-called Artemisia in the British Museum (Fig.27), have almost the same hairstyle as the above mentioned examples. The only difference is that in the latter two examples instead of detailed curls the hair is represented as rows of globules. In this case we have a "globular" hairstyle instead of a curled one.

The importance of the need to investigate the appearance and development of this particular type of hairstyle is indicated by the disagreement of scholars as to its origin. Some of them think that it came from Persia and others that it principally

developed in Greek art of the Archaic period. Rodenwaldt,¹ Riemann,² Schlörb³ and Haynes⁴ suggest that the hairstyle is actually Persian without offering substantial supporting arguments for their opinion. On the other hand Waywell argues that the hairstyle as used on the Mausoleum sculptures is Archaistic Greek. The adoption of it in Caria indicates an attempt to give the statues a sense of venerability and at the same time to imply a relationship to earlier portraits of important members of the family.⁵

So taking as a starting point this contrast of views, the main purpose of this initial chapter is to examine evidence from both types of Archaic art, Persian and Greek, and through this examination to try to trace the origins of this hairstyle and to give an answer, if possible, as to whether it is Persian or Greek. Before examining Persian or Greek art, however, it is necessary briefly to review first the art of the other Anatolian peoples, which antedates not only that of the Persians but the Greeks as well, and to try to quantify not just examples of the specific hairstyle, but to investigate in general the use of the motif of spiral curls and the curled hairstyle.

Starting with Sumerian art we can see that here we have the very first examples of the curled motif, already from the third millennium BC. Although the Sumerian fashion was for shaved heads and beardless faces (List 1 A, nos.II, 1-3),⁶ significant exceptions, such as the statue of the god Abu from Eshnunna dating to the first half

1. Rodenwaldt, 1933: 13, n.6.

2. Riemann, 1963: col.444.

3. Schlörb, 1965: 72, n.216.

4. Haynes, 1974: 30.

5. Waywell, 1978: 72, n.1; cf. also Prag and Neave, 1997: 214; Higgs, 1997: 32.

6. Gadd, 1929: pls. IV, V, XIII, XV

of the third millennium BC, already show the hair long and parted in the middle (List 1 A, nos.I, 1-2),⁷ and it is in this period, and particularly in the Third Dynasty of Ur, that the first examples of curls appear on the long beards of men. A characteristic example is the representation on the stele of the king Ur-Nammu which depicts the king carrying the tools of a builder, ready to start working upon the ziggurat (c.2112-2095 BC) (Cat.1A, no.III, 1).⁸ The beard of the king around his cheeks, mouth and chin is rendered in horizontal parallel rows of curls, and its tip ends in another row of spiral curls. Another example comes from Babylon. It is a relief which represents the famous king Hammurabi (c.1792-50 BC) (List 1 A, no.III, 2)⁹ with the same rendering of his beard as on the above-mentioned examples, the only difference being the absence of the row at the tip of the beard. It should be noted that these examples belong to a period in which we have a mixture of the local elements with many Semitic ones which came in during the domination of the Dynasty of Akkad.¹⁰ So we might be able in this case to talk about a Semitic hairstyle which arose from this mixture of population and cultures. An exceptional use of this motif can be observed on a portrait of king Gudea of Lagash, of the twenty second century BC, who wears a kind of turban on his head which is decorated with many tight spirals arranged in parallel horizontal lines (List 1 A, no.IV, 1).¹¹

Turning to Assyrian art, it seems to be here that the spiral curled motif was mainly used, a fact which probably points once more to its Semitic origin. Right from the

7. Margueron, 1965: fig.130.

8. Gadd, 1929: pl.XVIII.

9. Gadd, 1929: pl.XXV.

10. Gadd, 1929: 110-112.

11. Margueron, 1965: fig.34.

beginning of Assyrian art until its very end the curled motif seems to dominate as one of the most characteristic elements of the treatment of the hair and the beard. Occurring not only on human figures but on demonic creatures as well, like the human-headed bulls and other demons, this motif is extremely common throughout the whole of Assyrian art. Typical examples can be found on the reliefs from the North-West Palace at Nimrud with scenes from the military campaigns of king Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) (List 1 B, no.I, 4), or on the relief decoration from the palace at Khorsabad, c.710-705 BC, which was built for king Sargon II (List 1 B, no.I, 11). Another example comes from Nineveh, from the South-West palace, in the reliefs which depict scenes from the capture of Lachish by king Sennacherib in 701 BC (c.700-629 BC), and scenes from the war of king Ashurpanipal against the Elamites (c.660-50 BC) (List 1 B, no.I, 12).

Although the curled motif is frequent, the use of it on the forehead hair is not common at all. Usually it was used to decorate the back of the hair in many parallel horizontal lines. On the beards parallel, horizontal lines of tight spiral curls were introduced to interrupt the main flow of the beard. So far only a few examples have been found showing this motif decorating the forehead. Although we can presume that there may have existed more examples of this kind, it seems true that use of the spiral curl motif on the forehead was rare. It is worthwhile, I think, listing here the examples that have been found up to now:

1. Divine couple from Tell-Hallaf, beginning of the first millennium BC, Aleppo Museum. There is one row of quite broad spiral curls on the man's forehead

(List 1 B, no.II, a 1).¹²

2. Detail from a "scorpion man". Tell-Hallaf, beginning of the first millennium BC, also with one row of quite broad spiral curls (List 1 B, no.II, a 2).¹³
3. Relief with battles between Assyrians and Elamites, eighth century BC. From Nineveh, British Museum. One row of spiral curls on the Elamites' foreheads (List 1 B, no.II, b 1).

Apart from these Assyrian examples, there are some others, as well, from the area of Anatolia and Syria and from the art of the people who lived there and were influenced by Assyrian art. These are:

1. Woman's head with two rows of curls on the forehead which curl in opposite directions. Late ninth-late eighth centuries BC. Probably from Hamath, now in the British Museum (List 1 B, no.III, a 1).¹⁴
2. Head of a guardian spirit. From Nimrud, eighth century BC; it was a decorative piece of furniture, now in the British Museum. It has two rows of curls on the forehead (List 1 B, no.III, a 2).
3. Figure of a nude goddess from Urartu. She is holding her breasts and is wearing a necklace and a crown. She has one row of curls on her forehead, the row is split in the middle, and the individual spirals curl in different directions. End of the eighth century BC (List 1 B, no.III, b 1).¹⁵
3. "Goddess of the wild animals" from Ugarit now in the Louvre; she has one

12. Margueron, 1965: 128.

13. Margueron, 1965: fig.108.

14. Barnett, 1957: 218, pl.LXV, S 350.

15. Barnett, 1957: 229, pl.CXXIX, W 4 a, b; Barnett, 1950: 10, 16, fig.6, pl.XIV, 1, 3.

row of curls on the forehead (List 1 B, no.III, b 2).¹⁶

Turning now to Persian art we can observe that this is actually the only one of the Anatolian cultures which depicts the curled motif on the forehead hair in art. We might even say that this usage was a common practice. Persian art developed during the second half of the sixth century and within the fifth century BC, coterminous with the period of the formation of the Persian Empire. The most important examples which come from within this time are:

1. Darius' tomb at Naksh-e Rostam with representations of soldiers, officers and representatives of the people of the Empire carrying the king's throne, c.486 BC (List 1 C, II, 1).
2. Apadana reliefs in Persepolis, first half of the fifth century BC (List 1 C, II, 3), which represent a procession of the various peoples of the Empire towards the king to whom all these people bring presents (Fig.1).
3. The Throne Relief from the Council Hall which depicts the king on his throne and throne-bearers, first half of the fifth century BC (List 1 C, II, 4).

Observing the Persian examples we can note the way this motif was used on the forehead. On the back of the head it was usually arranged in parallel rows. The upper row was then extended round to the front, which meant that there was one row of spiral curls on the forehead. Below the curls usually there was a row of flame-like locks (Figs.1, 2). Furthermore the motif is the same as that which appears on the beards in Assyrian art. This treatment of the motif was the rule in

16. Moscati, 1957: 128, fig.XI.

Persian art. There are, however, exceptions. One of these is the well-known relief on the rock at Bisutun which represents king Darius on his throne; behind him stand a few of his officers while in front of him are nine captive rebel kings. On this relief the king is depicted without any row of curls on his forehead (List 1 C, no.I, 1). Furthermore there are examples where there is only one row of curls on the forehead of the figures without the flame-like locks below. A characteristic example is the representation of one of the officers on Darius' tomb.¹⁷ The representations of some of the throne-bearers on Darius' and Xerxes' tombs and some of the delegates on the Apadana staircase, such as the Parthian, the Ionian and the Lydian delegates,¹⁸ have also a single row of curls on the forehead. Two more examples from Xerxes' tomb present a special interest, the Assyrian throne-bearer has one row of broad curls on his forehead¹⁹ while the Lybian has two rows of curls, probably a unique example in Persian art.²⁰

These examples illustrate the ways in which this motif was used in Persian art during the second half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries BC.

To summarise the evidence from the art of the Middle East and Anatolia, we can say that in general the motif of the spiral curls, usually very tightly rolled in the form of a snail-shell, without however excluding the existence of broader forms of the motif, appears probably for the first time in Sumerian art. We cannot be

17. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, pl.24 a.

18. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, pl.102 G, 104 B, 104 Ab. c.f. also Walser, 1966: pl.13, no.VI where he calls the Lydian delegates Syrians and pl.19 where he calls the Ionian delegates Lydians.

19. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, fig.49, no.17, tomb II and pl.44, no.17.

20. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, fig.52, no.27, tomb II, pl.44, no.27.

absolutely sure if it indicates a kind of racial characteristic, that is to say the natural curly hair of the Semitic people, or if it was just a matter of fashion. In any case it seems more probable that it was through Assyrian art that the motif spread to the area of Anatolia, and that is why we find it in the art of the other eastern peoples from the Urartians and the Hittites to the Persians. The use of this spiral curled motif on the forehead seems to be quite rare. Although we have some examples, these are not enough to enable us to speak about a very widespread use. The only exception is Persian art in which the use of it on the forehead is not just very frequent but becomes the general rule.

We turn now to the Greek art of the Archaic period, to consider how many examples there are of this motif and the extent of its use on the forehead. The first examples in sculpture come already from the beginning of large-scale sculpture, in the Daedalic period, but they are not restricted just to the large-scale works but also occur on smaller-scale pieces. Typical examples of Daedalic art, like the famous Kore from Auxerre (List 1 D, no.I, 2), have a row of quite broad spiral curls on the forehead. Apart from this the motif is quite common on other works of the period such as terracottas and ivory statuettes, for example an ivory group of two girls, now in New York, Morgan Gift, which is dated c.630 BC (List 1 D, no.I, 5).²¹ On the forehead of one of the two girls there is one row of extremely tight spiral-curls. Another typical example of this early period in Greek sculpture, which also comes from the area of the minor scale sculpture, is an ivory plaque which was found in

21. Boardman, 1991: fig. 39.

the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, and represents Perseus killing Medusa with Athena's help and which probably came from Laconia (List 1 D, no.I, 1).²² Perseus has on the forehead a row of spiral curls while he wears on the head a helmet which reminds us of the Assyrian types. It is dated c.630 BC.²³ These are not the only examples from this first period in Greek sculpture. Many others, and especially works of the minor arts, such as terracottas and ivory plaques, represent the same motif and it is always on the forehead.

From the end of the seventh century BC comes a very well known piece of work. It is an ivory statuette of a kneeling nude youth which was found on Samos and was part of the decoration of a lyre (List 1 D, no.I, 3) (Fig.3). What is important in this work is the very elaborate conception of the motif. What we have here is actually a representation of a piece of jewellery on the head, a kind of taenia with rosettes above the forehead and the front locks curling around each rosette.²⁴

At the turn of the century another very important example is found on the famous pair of kouroi, Kleobis and Biton, at Delphi (c.600 BC) (List 1 D, no.I, 4) (Figs.4, 5). They also have one row of spiral curls on the forehead, while another important kouros of this early phase, the kouros from Sounion (c.590-80) (List 1 D, no.I, 5),²⁵ has the same broad spiral curls on his forehead. In this example the spiral curls are decorated with transverse grooves and ridges.

During the sixth century BC the motif continues in all cases to be applied to the

22. Freyer-Schauenburg, 1966: 4, 30ff, fig.6a.

23. Fuchs, 1983: 399, fig.441.

24. Boardman, 1991: fig. 54.

25. Richter, 1970: 42-44, figs.33-39.

forehead hair. Although in the beginning the curls are quite broad, by the first half of the sixth century BC they become tighter and also at the end of the Archaic period more emphatic. We can now clearly describe the form as snail-shell. Furthermore this is not the only development that is to be observed in the motif. From about the first half of the sixth century the rows of the curls on the forehead are multiplied, so that from now on we do not have just one row on the forehead but two rows, one above the other, and by the end of the period even three.

We now look more closely at the application of these developments to male statues through the examination of some typical examples. Starting with the tighter size of the curls, we can cite as an example a kouros which is now in Florence and is dated c.560 BC (List 1 D, no.IV, 1).²⁶ This work actually shows both trends because not only are the size of the spirals smaller in comparison with the works of the previous years, like Kleobis and Biton and the kouros from Sounion, but he also has two rows on his forehead. On the other hand at the same time we have the example of a kouros from the Thera cemetery, now in Athens, NM 8, dated c.570-60 (List 1 D, no.I, 10) (Fig.6),²⁷ which has on the forehead a row of broad spiral curls quite similar to the ones on the statues of the previous years. Another example is a kouros from Attica now in Munich (about 540-30 BC) (cf. Cat.1 D, no.I, 18),²⁸ which has on the forehead a row of quite broad spiral curls. In addition the curls are divided in the middle of the forehead from where

26. Boardman, 1991: fig.105.

27. Boardman, 1991: fig.101.

28. Boardman, 1991: fig.106.

they curl in different directions. Almost from the same time, c.530 BC, we have a kouros from Keos, now in Athens NM 3686, (cf.Cat.1 D, no.I, 20)²⁹ which has on its forehead a row of quite broad spiral curls. However the kouros from Munich introduces us to an innovation in Greek art, which is that his short hair ends at the back of his head in a row of tight spiral curls.³⁰ That immediately brings to mind another work of the Archaic period, the Aristodikos kouros which is dated to about 510-500 (List 1 D, no.V, 2) (Fig.7).³¹ In addition to its triple row of forehead curls, this statue has two rows of tight spiral curls on the back of his head in a way which reminds us of how this motif was used in eastern art, especially that of Assyria and Persia.

Furthermore we can note that in the last few decades of the sixth century BC and the first twenty years of the fifth, during the last phase of the Archaic period, we have a clear predominance of the tight snail-shell curls while the broad ones have almost vanished. At the same time instances of more than one row of curls become more frequent. Generally speaking we can say that the two or three rows start when the tight spiral curls appear, whereas when the curls are broad we have only one row. The reason for this change must be fashion, but the artistic effect is to encourage sculptors to increase the number of rows of curls. Although the multiple rows had started already in the first half of the sixth century, e.g. the kouros in Florence, now they come into common use. Some typical examples

29. Boardman, 1991: fig.144.

30. Alternatively this could be seen as a development from the earlier kouroi (e.g.the kouros from Sounion) where the long hair ends in a row of spirals.

31. Boardman, 1991: fig.145.

from this period are the so-called "Webb head" in London which is believed to be a Roman copy of an original of c.500 BC (List 1 D, no.V, 3),³² with three rows on the forehead, the so-called "Strangford Apollo" also in London, c.490 BC, with two rows (List 1 D, no.IV, 9) (Fig.8 a-b),³³ and Theseus from the West pediment of the Apollo temple at Eretria c.500-490 BC (List 1 D, no.VI, 1) (Fig.9).³⁴ Theseus has three rows of curls on his forehead as well as a fourth one above each temple. Another example comes from the west pediment of the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina c.490 BC. It is a fallen warrior who has two rows of snail-shell curls on the forehead (List 1 D, no.IV, 6).³⁵

The first examples of the corkscrew curls are also observed in the late sixth century BC. They are few but indicative of the origin of the motif in the Archaic period. What differentiates this motif from the snail-curls is the rendering of the forehead hair in individual long locks which hang on the forehead. Each lock ends in a curl (List 1 D Male examples, VIII:1-2; Female examples, VIII:1) (Fig.10).³⁶

Finally it is worthwhile mentioning one of the most famous Archaic kouroi, the kouros from Anavysos, Kroisos (Fig. 11). He actually has the same curled hairstyle on the forehead, though in a more elaborate form; the locks on the forehead are parted into two and curl in different directions. Furthermore their size increases progressively and in opposite pairs (List 1 D, no.VII, 1).³⁷ These

32. Boardman, 1991: fig.143.

33. Boardman, 1991: fig.184.

34. Boardman, 1991: fig.205.2.

35. Boardman, 1991: fig.206.4.

36. Brahms, 1994: 130.

37. Boardman, 1991: fig.107.

examples illustrate the progressive development of the use and increasing sophistication of the curled hair motif on Archaic Greek male statues of the period c.580-480 BC.

We turn now to consider the development of this hairstyle on Greek female statues. Generally speaking, in female statues we observe the same differentiation of the motif as in the male ones. Firstly we have only the broad variety of curls, and then in about the middle of the sixth century the tighter variety appears. At the same time two and later three rows occur. We can, however, notice a difference between the kouroi and korai, and that is that although on the kouroi the two kinds of spiral curls co-exist for some decades, on the korai this does not seem to be so. As soon as the tight spiral curls appear the broad ones almost vanish, with the result that after the middle of the sixth century we find multiple rows of tight curls predominant.

Turning to specific examples of these tendencies, the following exhibit one row of broad curls on the forehead (in addition to those already cited above):

1. A figure on a clay plaque from Axos from the sanctuary of Athena. Middle of the seventh century BC (List 1 D, no.I, 1).³⁸
2. A limestone relief from Malesina, Lokris, with the representation of a woman. Last quarter of the seventh century BC (List 1 D, no.I, 7).³⁹
3. A limestone head from Laganello near Syracuse c.590 BC (List 1 D, no.I, 9).⁴⁰

38. Boardman, 1991: fig.27.

39. Boardman, 1991: fig.36.

40. Richter, 1968: 39, figs.135-8.

4. The Gorgon from the west pediment of the Artemis temple at Corfu c.570 (List 1D, no.I, 10).⁴¹
5. A sphinx from Athens c.560 BC (List 1 D, no.I, 12).⁴²

As we see in the fourth example the motif is used in the representation of Medusa, and if we consider further examples from the art of the Archaic period we can note that this motif was used very frequently in the representation of Medusa until quite late on. Apart from the above mentioned examples two others which are significant and which represent chronological extremes are:

1. The Gorgon on the ivory plaque from Samos, mentioned above, which represents Perseus killing Medusa with the help of Athena c.630-20 BC (List 1 D, no.I, 6).
2. A metope from temple C at Selinus which also represents Perseus killing Medusa c.530 BC (List 1 D, no.I, 13).⁴³

Examples of sixth century female heads with the tighter curls are:

1. A limestone head from Sikyon. Middle of the sixth century BC (List 1 D, no.II, 1).⁴⁴
2. Acropolis 669, c.530 BC (List 1 D, no.II, 2).⁴⁵
2. Acropolis 681, the so-called Antenor's kore c.530 BC. This statue has three rows of curls on the forehead (List 1 D, no.IV, 1).⁴⁶

41. Boardman, 1991: fig.187,1.

42. Boardman, 1991: fig.226.1.

43. Fuchs, 1983: 407, fig.452.

44. Richter, 1968: 60, figs.301-303.

45. Richter, 1968: 68-69, figs.328-335.

46. Boardman, 1991: fig.141.

4. Acropolis 673, last quarter of the sixth century BC with one row (List 1 D, no.II, 4).⁴⁷
5. A limestone head from Cyprus in New York, CS 1370, last quarter of the sixth century BC (List 1 E, no.II, 1).⁴⁸
6. A relief from the Acropolis which represents three dancing girls. The third girl has two rows on her forehead c.500 BC (List 1 D, no.III, 4).⁴⁹
7. Athens NM 24. Statue from Eleusis, c.490-80 BC, with one row (List 1 D, no.II, 5).⁵⁰
8. Colossal head of a goddess who may be Aphrodite, the so-called "Acrolith Ludovisi" c.480-70 BC, with three rows (List 1 D, no.IV, 2).⁵¹

One of the above-mentioned examples (no 5) comes from Cyprus, and it is indicative of the particular character of Cypriot art. The geographical position of the island between East and West, the conquest of it by different peoples with different civilisations (Assyrians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Persians) and the strong Greek influences, gave to Cypriot art an individual character with a mixture of many different elements. In the period under consideration particularly strong Greek influences can be traced in the sculpture of Cyprus. If we study the Cypriot examples we can observe the same features as in Greek art, notably the same distinction between two kinds of curls: the tight (snail-shell-like) curls (List 1 E,

47. Richter, 1968:75-76, figs.368-372.

48. Richter, 1968: 90, figs.499-500.

49. Fuchs, 1983: 503, figs.584.

50. Richter, 1968: 103, figs.591-4.

51. Fuchs, 1983: 553, fig.658.

nos.I, 1, II, 1-3, III, 1-2) and the not-so-tight curls (List 1 E, female examples, nos.I, 1-2). Furthermore multiple rows of curls on the forehead are also to be observed, most of the examples of which are concentrated in the sixth century BC, especially in the second half, and within the fifth century (List 1 E, nos.II, 1-3, III, 1-2). In addition the tight curls were used in the decoration of beards, a feature which is not so common in Greek art. Apart from the beards, we can conclude that in Cypriot art the same trends can be found in the use of the curled motif as in Greek art (Figs.12, 13).

Before ending this discussion about female statues we should consider an exceptional way of treating this motif which reminds us of the Persian approach. It is seen on a kore from the Acropolis, no.676, which is dated between 500-490 (List 1 D, no.V, 1) (Fig.14).⁵² She has a row of spiral curls at the end of parallel vertical strands, and immediately under these over the forehead she has two wavy ridges. This recalls the Persian way in which the curls do not lie immediately on the forehead but above a row of straight strands. In addition, the exceptional way of using this motif reminds us of the other Archaic statue, Kroisos, where we also have an unusual rendering of the motif. These two examples, as well as all the above-mentioned remarks about the development and the use of this motif in Greek art, show us that it did not stay static during the 150 years and more following its first appearance, but that it took many forms and was combined in various kinds of hairstyles. All the above quoted examples are only representative examples among

52. Richter, 1968: 102, figs.583-586.

many others, yet all show, I suggest, the same development as was discussed above.

The medium of sculpture is not the only one which can provide us with useful research material for the development of this hairstyle. Many examples from vase-painting show us a similar development to that of the sculpture, and provide fresh evidence for certain particular characteristics.

The first examples come also from the seventh century BC, in suggestions of curls on figures from the so-called "Chigi" vase, now in Rome (List 1 F, no.I, 1). The rendering of the hair of the men fighting the lion, and of the horserider, is similar to that on the statues of the same period, with one row of quite broad curls. This motif of a single row of curls continues until the last decades of the sixth century BC. After the middle of the sixth century the first examples with two rows of curls on the forehead appear, a characteristic instance of this being an amphora by Exekias with the representation of Achilles and Ajax playing a board game, where Ajax has two rows of curls on his forehead (List 1 F, no.II, A, 1).

During the same period when red-figure painting begins, a further motif appears which is probably another way of representing the hairstyle in question; this is the application of multiple rows of plastic globules on the forehead and very frequently on the back of the hair. The use of this motif is common on the beard as well, and is particularly frequent on representations of Herakles (List 1 F, no.II, B, 6, 8). Other typical examples of this motif are found on the vases shaped in the form of female or male heads, which usually have multiple rows of this kind of hairstyle on their foreheads (List 1 F, no.II, B, 1).

A third development in the representation of the curled hair-style in vase-painting comes a bit later, from the beginning of the fifth century BC. Now instead of plastic globules we find multiple series of painted dots on the forehead. This should also be an indication of the curled hairstyle, although the rendering is freer than in the original hairstyle. An exceptional way of using this motif is found on a cup by Douris which represents on the exterior the fight between Odysseus and Ajax for Achilles' armour, and on the interior Odysseus and Neoptolemos with Achilles' armour again (ARV, 429, 26). The important thing in these scenes is that the motif of curls is not depicted on the forehead of any of the figures but on the helmet. This representation reminds us of Hauser's opinion about the function of the *tettix*, which is thought to be a kind of jewellery with the same appearance as the curled hairstyle (List 1 F, no.II, C, 4).⁵³ Another important example of this category of motif is a vase by the Pan painter which depicts a sacrificial scene where the motif is applied to a Herm, which recalls the hairstyle of the Hermes of Alkamenes which was created a few decades later (List 1 F, no.II, C, 5).

During this research some questions have arisen, which have to do with the connections between Greek and Persian art. We have already observed that Persian art is the only one among all the other Anatolian arts which uses the curled motif on the forehead. This art flourishes during the sixth and fifth centuries BC, which means that during the period in which the tight spiral curls were in use in Greece, the same form was employed in Persia. Since it is already known and

53. Hauser, 1906: 97-100, fig.31. He also offers further examples from the vase-painting.

proven that Ionian-Greek artists worked in Persepolis,⁵⁴ this raises the question of influence, as to who was influenced by whom, the Persians by the Greeks or vice versa? Or is it a case of two different approaches, in which the only common factor is the origin of the motif?

Before answering these questions we should briefly review the relationship between Greek and Persian art, a subject which is closely connected with the origins of Achaemenian art. The discussion about the beginnings of Achaemenian art has shown a few potential sources of origin such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, Urartu and Greece. Of all these Greece is the most controversial. Dieulafoy was among the first to support a Greek origin for Persian art, and his suggestion found many followers. On the other hand scholars like Herzfeld supported the limited or even non-existent influence of Greek art.⁵⁵ In 1946 two articles by Frankfort and Richter emphasized even more the contribution of Greek artists to the formation of Persian art. Frankfort suggested that the plasticity of Persian sculptures came from the Greek examples of the same period and not from the Near Eastern sculpture where plasticity was lacking. Richter, giving as examples the rendering of the hair, the eye and the garments, supported the great impact Greek art had on Persian. Similar views were expressed by other scholars too.⁵⁶

The investigation of the architecture and sculpture of Pasargadae, which is the earliest monumental Persian architecture, can offer some suggestions as to the origins of Persian art and the role played by the Greeks. The detailed study of the

54. Roaf, 1980: 67-74.

55. Nylander, 1970: 13-15.

56. Nylander, 1970: 15; Frankfort, 1946: 6-14; Richter, 1946: 15-30.

construction techniques undertaken by Nylander showed that the Greeks made a major contribution. The tools which were used, and in particular the introduction of the claw chisel, the use of stone as a material instead of mud bricks which were traditionally used in Near Eastern architecture, the way in which the stones were carved, the use of "anathyrosis", the method of setting the ashlar, the types of clamps and dowels, all of these point to a Greek influence, and to the presence of Greek stonemasons.⁵⁷

Furthermore the use of particular details such as the mouldings on the plinth and the base of Cyrus' tomb, the cornice at the top of the same monument with its tripartite division (dentils, moulding, geison), the rosettes of the Zendan tower at Pasargadae, the column bases of palaces S and P, and the raised borders which enclose the reliefs are only a few of the elements which prove the Greek contribution. On the other hand the sculptures which decorate the buildings at Pasargadae originate in the tradition of the Near East. Persian artists might have borrowed some features from the Greeks, such as the stacked folds or the zig-zag hem of the draperies, but they soon transformed them in a way which suited more their preference for symmetry and decorativeness.⁵⁸ Furthermore the Persian examples lack one of the basic features of Greek sculpture, the interplay between body and drapery. As for the plasticity which Frankfort suggested, it can also be found on Near Eastern examples as Nylander pointed out. Moreover Richter's examples such as the curled hair or the frontal eye also have a presence in the art of

57. Frankfort, 1954: 222; Nylander, 1970: 53-69.

58. Stronach, 1978: 77-105.

the Near East.⁵⁹ The curled motif in particular, as we have already suggested in the present chapter, has a long history in the art of Assyria and it was from there and possibly through Syro-Palestine that the Greeks adopted it.

Further mention should be made about the status of the Greeks who worked in Persia. It has been often suggested that they were slaves or deportees. This might have been the case for the Greeks who worked at Persepolis or Susa, but it was surely not so for those who worked at Pasargadae. As Nylander suggested, the significance of the contribution to the technical side of the construction and the way the Greek motifs were combined indicate not only the Greek presence but the Greek mind behind the design. It follows therefore that the men who worked there were not minor artists, but were very highly trained and qualified stone masons who were attracted by “good pay and conditions”.⁶⁰

Consequently we accept Nylander’s suggestions that Ionic influences are to be traced mainly in the techniques and architectural motifs which were used in the construction of the buildings at Pasargadae. These aspects testify both to the presence of Greek workmen and to the Greek mind behind those structures. On the other hand the sculptural decoration of these buildings is of Near Eastern and Mesopotamian origin. In other words the presence of Greeks was significant for the construction of the Pasargadae monuments but much less so for their sculptural decoration. Furthermore it was the Persians who pulled together all these different elements and different traditions (Ionian, Mesopotamian, Iranian) and created the

59. Stronach, 1978: 105; Frankfort, 1946: 6-14; Richter, 1946: 15-30.

60. Nylander, 1970: 147.

essence of Achaemenian architecture and art, while still leaving the western artists a good deal of initiative. Comparing Pasargadae with the later Persepolis we see that the Greek contribution is greater in the former, which allows us to speak, as Nylander pointed out, of a “Greek phase in early Iranian art”, but which in no way encourages us to consider Achaemenian art as a “provincial Greek art”.⁶¹

To return now to the question as to who was influenced by whom, it is evident that if we suspect an influence from Persian art to Greek, that would mean that the tight form of spiral curls is not a development of the previous broad one, but something independent; a suspicion which becomes stronger if we reflect that although in the East we encounter mainly snail-shell-like spiral curls, in Greece at first we have a quite broad type. So did the Greeks actually take the motif in the seventh century BC and then develop it, or did they create something different by themselves and then adopt the eastern form from Persia in the later sixth century BC? Starting with the Assyrian relief from Nineveh, now in the British Museum (c.660-50 BC) (cf.Cat.1 B, no.II, b 1), which depicts battles between Assyrians and Elamites, we have already observed that this is one of the very few examples in Assyrian art which represents figures with one row of curls on the forehead. In this case these people are the Elamites. Elam was the name of a kingdom which was very close to Media, and to the area which was called Anshan and it was, as far as we know, the area from which the Achaemenids came.⁶² Since we know that in Assyrian art one of the ways of representing different people is by depicting the

61. Nylander, 1970: 144-149.

62. CAH, 1988: vol.IV, 6-24.

styles in which they dressed their hair, it may be preferable to suppose that the row of spiral curls on the forehead was an Elamite national characteristic, and that the Medes and Persians were influenced by them in their style of headdress.

Even if this were so, a Median or Persian influence on Greek art should probably be excluded for two reasons. Firstly the Anatolian influences which came into Greek art during the seventh century BC, came mainly from the areas of Asia Minor and Syro-Palestine. In these areas art was mainly Assyrian influenced and not Median. So the possibility of direct Median influence on Greek art should be excluded. Secondly the Greek examples date chronologically earlier than the Persian. The first Greek examples come from the first half of the sixth century BC, e.g. the kouros in Florence, c.560 BC (cf. Cat.1 D, no.IV, 1) while the first Persian examples appear only in the second half of the sixth century BC (cf. Cat.1 C, nos.II, 1-10). Indeed Persian art hardly existed at the period in which the first examples appear in Greek art. The Persian Empire first exercised control over Greek communities from 546 BC and continued to develop in power into the early fifth century BC,⁶³ and the first examples of Persian art belong to that period. We know that Greek artists worked in Persepolis, but this happened after the appearance of the first Greek examples. In other words the Greek examples not only antedate the Persian ones but also originate at a time when there was no distinct Persian art, or at least a well-formed Persian art capable of influencing the already flourishing Greek art.

63. CAH, 1988: vol.IV, 33-36.

It seems likely therefore that there was no close connection between the Persian and Greek version of the curled hairstyle. Instead their common factor was probably a shared influence from Assyrian art.

The common origin of the Persian and Greek forms of the curled hair motif in Assyria is further supported by the technique which was used for its rendering. The same tool, the flat chisel, seems to have been used in all three cultural areas. Both, Adam, in her discussion of Greek art, and Nylander, in his analysis of Persian, pointed out that the tool which was used for the formation of the hair and for the details of the hairstyle was the flat chisel and in particular the edge of the tool.⁶⁴ Close observation of the Assyrian examples shows that the Assyrians used a similar kind of tool to make their curls. The main difference between the Assyro-Persian and the Greek examples is that the Greeks very often used the drill to separate one curl from another. The traces of the drill holes are still visible between the curls on Archaic examples such as the Kore, Acropolis 673. Both, the Greek and the Persians, then, seem to have adopted not only the curled motif but also the technique of its rendering from Assyria. The Greeks, however, went a step further and, just as in the use of the motif, so too in the technique they developed a more elaborate method of procedure.

Having now reviewed in detail both cultural areas, Anatolian and Persian on the one hand, Greek on the other, we should attempt finally to draw together some conclusions. As we saw, the curled hair motif appears in Anatolian art for the first

64. Adam, 1966: 27, 30, 32, 34; Nylander, 1970: 34.

time long before its appearance in Greek art. Although it is a very common decorative motif, its use on the forehead is very rare, being found only during the centuries in which Persian art flourishes when it becomes a common feature on the forehead. In Greek art on the contrary its use on the forehead becomes a common element from its first appearance and continues to be so until the last years of the Archaic period and even beyond.⁶⁵ Furthermore, we may note that although the motif was used in Anatolian art for centuries it remained static, it did not change and it did not develop into other forms. In Greek art, though its use was for a shorter period of time in comparison with Anatolian art, a variety developed very soon, not only in the shape, more or less tight, of the curls, but also in the combination of the motif with other hairstyles, and in its rendering in more than one row of curls on the forehead. So finally if we compare the Anatolian and the Archaic Greek forms with the later conception of the hairstyle as it reappeared in the fourth century BC, it becomes apparent that this type of hairstyle originates much more clearly from the Archaic Greek way of rendering the hair than from the Persian way. Above all, the fact that only in Greek art do we regularly find more than one row of curls on the forehead is sufficient to convince us of the essentially Greek origin of the hairstyle.⁶⁶

65. Examples of this motif dating to the fifth century BC and from the beginning of the early Classical period include the terracotta group of Zeus and Ganymedes from Olympia (480-70 BC), and Apollo from the West pediment of the temple of Zeus also at Olympia (c.460 BC). See below, chapter 2.

66. We have, of course, occasional examples from Anatolian art with two rows of curls on the forehead, such as the two previously mentioned examples from Nimrud. However the rendering of the hair is quite different in comparison with the examples from Greek art. Here we have a small area with straight hair between the two rows, and one row does not follow immediately above the other as in the Greek examples.

LIST 1: MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 1

A SUMERIAN - BABYLONIAN ART

I LONG HAIR PARTED IN THE MIDDLE: NO CURLS

1. God Abu from Eshnunna, first half of the third millennium BC, now in Baghdad Museum. Veined gypsum, height: 28 inches. Margueron, 1965: fig.130.
2. Stone statue of a man, unknown provenance, c.2600 BC, now in the British Museum, WA 91667.

II SHAVED HEADS AND BEARDLESS FACES: NO CURLS

1. The mosaic "standard" from Ur, first half of the third millennium, now in the British Museum, WA 121201. It was made of shell and semi-precious stones such as lapis-lazuli which are held together with bitumen. Height: 8 inches, length: 18, 5 inches.
2. Stone figure of a man, probably Kur-lil, from al-Ubaid, c.2500 BC, now in the British Museum, WA 114207. It is made of Trachyte. Height: 37.5 inches. Hall, 1928: 28, pl.IV, no.1.
3. Inlay panels with representations of men and a procession of bulls, from al-Ubaid, c.2500 BC, now in the British Museum, WA 116743-4, WA 116754.

III SPIRAL CURLS ON THE BEARD

1. Representation of king Ur-Nammu carrying the tools of a builder, part of a stele of king Ur-Nammu, from Ur, c.2112-2095 BC, now in Philadelphia. It was

carved in limestone. The original dimensions were, height: c.5 m and width: 1.51 m. Woolley, 1925: 342-347.

2. Relief with a representation of king Hammurabi, unknown provenance, c.1792-50 BC, now in the British Museum, WA 22454. Limestone slab, height: 0.152 m. Hall, 1928: 31-32, pl.IX, no.1.

IV EXCEPTIONAL USE OF THE CURLED MOTIF

1. Portrait of king Gudea of Lagash, from Lagash, twenty-second century BC, now in the Louvre, Paris. Dorite, height: 9.4 inches. Margueron, 1965: fig.34.

B ASSYRIAN ART

I CURLED MOTIF ON THE FOREHEAD AND ON THE BEARD

1. Stele of king Ashurnasirpal II (883-59 BC), from the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, c.879-78 BC. British Museum, WA 118805. Alabastrine limestone, height: 2.92 m. Hall, 1928: 34, pl.XIII.
2. Gates from the palace of king Shalmaneser III (858-24 BC) at Balawat with scenes from achievements of king Ashurnasirpal II, c. 876-67 BC. British Museum, WA 124685-98, WA 124687-700. Bronze.
3. Reliefs from the North-West Palace of king Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud, with military (WA 124538-124548), formal and hunting scenes (WA124532-124534) c.865-60 BC. British Museum. Alabastrine limestone, height: 0.91-0.98 m, length: 2-2.56 m. Hall, 1928: 34-36, pls.XIV-XVIII.

4. Black obelisk of king Shalmaneser III with tribute-bearers from Israel, from Nimrud, c.825 BC. British Museum, WA 118885. Black marble, height: 1.98 m. Hall, 1928: 38, pl.XXIII.
5. Stele of king Shamshi-Adad VI (823-11 BC), from the temple of Nabu at Nimrud, c. 815-11 BC. British Museum, WA 118892. White limestone, height: 2.13 m. Hall, 1928: 38, pl.XXIV, 1.
6. Two attendant Gods, from the temple of Nabu at Nimrud, c.810-800 BC. British Museum, WA 118888, WA 118889. Coarse limestone, height: 1.60 m. Hall, 1928: 38, pl.XXIV, 2.
7. Reliefs with military scenes, from the Central Palace of king Tiglath-pileser III (745-27 BC) at Nimrud, c.728 BC. British Museum, WA 118931+118934, WA 118907. Alabastrine limestone, height: 1.47 m, length: 1.26 m.
8. Reliefs from the palace of Sargon II (721-5 BC) at Khorsabad, with court scenes (WA 118822) and protective spirits (WA 118809), c.710-705 BC. British Museum. Alabastrine limestone, height: 2.985 m and 4.42 m. Hall, 1928: 39-40, pls.XXVII-XXVIII.
9. Reliefs with pictures from the capture of Lachish by king Sennacherib in 701 BC (WA 124910-12), as well as scenes from other wars of the same king (WA 124902-3), from the South-West palace at Nineveh, c.700-692 BC. British Museum. Alabastrine limestone, height: 1-1.55 m, length: 0.76-1.22 m. Hall, 1928: 41-42, pls.XXXIV-XXXV
10. Reliefs with lion hunting scenes with king Ashurpanipal, and two protective spirits from the North palace at Nineveh, c.645-35 BC. British Museum, WA

124850-2, WA 124852-5. Alabastrine limestone, height: 1.757 m, length: 6.40 m.

II THE CURLED MOTIF ON THE FOREHEAD

a. Broad curls

1. Divine or royal couple from Tell-Hallaf, beginning of the first millennium BC, now in the Aleppo Museum, with one row of curls on the man's forehead. Basalt, height: 31 inches, width: 35 inches. Margueron, 1965: 128.
2. A "scorpion man" from Tell-Hallaf, beginning of the first millennium BC, with one row of curls on the forehead. Aleppo Museum. Basalt, height: 63 inches, length: 81 inches. Margueron, 1965: fig. 108.

b. Tight curls

1. Relief with scenes from the war of king Ashurpanipal against the Elamites, from the South-West palace at Nineveh, c.660-50 BC, with one row of curls on the Elamites' forehead. British Museum, WA 124802, WA 135109, WA 135122.

III CURLED MOTIF ON THE FOREHEAD: EXAMPLES FROM THE ART OF OTHER ANATOLIAN PEOPLES WHO WERE INFLUENCED BY ASSYRIAN ART

a. Two rows of curls

1. Woman's head probably from Hamath, late ninth-late eighth century BC. British Museum 123809. The spirals curl in opposite directions. Ivory, height: 0.42 m. Barnett, 1957: 218, pl.LXV, S 350.
2. Head of a guardian spirit, from a piece of furniture, Syrian, eighth century BC. British Museum.

b. One row of curls

1. Nude goddess from Urartu. She is holding her breasts and is wearing a necklace and a crown. The row is divided in the middle, from which the curls turn in opposite directions. End of the eighth century BC. British Museum 119447. Ivory, height: 0.182 m. Barnett, 1957: 229, pl.CXXIX, W 4 a,b; Barnett, 1950: 10, 16, fig.6, pl.XIV,1, 3.
2. "Goddess of the wild animals" from Ugarit, now in the Louvre. Ivory relief. Moscati, 1957: 128, fig.XI.

C PERSIAN ART

I CURLED MOTIF ON THE BACK OF THE HEAD

1. The rock relief in Bisutun which represents king Darius with nine rebel kings, c.520-490 BC. Ghirshman, 1964: 235-236, figs.283, 284.

II CURLED MOTIF ON THE BACK OF THE HEAD AND ON THE FOREHEAD

1. Darius' tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam, with representations of soldiers, officers and representatives from all the people of the Empire who carry the throne of the king, c.486 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 80-90, pls. 19, 22 B.
2. Treasury relief which represents the King with the Crown Prince and officers, from Persepolis, end of sixth century-beginning of the fifth. Schmidt, 1953: vol.I, 167-169, pl.121.
3. Apadana relief in Persepolis which depicts representatives from all the people of the Empire bringing presents to the King, first half of the fifth century (Fig.1). *Photographs of casts of Persian sculptures*, 1932: pl.5 b.
4. Relief from the Council Hall with the King on his throne and throne-bearers, c.465 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.I, 167-169, pl.77; Walser, 1966: pl.7
5. Xerxes' tomb at Naksh-i Rustam with representations of soldiers, officers and throne-bearers, c.465 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 90-93, pls.40-45.
6. Relief from the Throne Hall, depicting king Artaxerxes I on his throne and throne-bearers, c.465-424 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.I, pls.96-97.
7. Relief from the Royal palace at Persepolis representing a Persian guard (Fig.2). *Photographs of casts of Persian sculptures*, 1932: pl.10.
8. Artaxerxes' tomb at Naksh-i Rustam with the same decoration as the above-mentioned two examples nos. 5 and 6, c.424 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 93-95, pl.48.

9. Darius II's tomb at Naksh-i Rostam, like the above-mentioned tombs, c.405/4 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 96-98, pls.56-61.
10. Artaxerxes II's tomb at Naksh-i Rostam, like the above-mentioned tombs, c.359/8 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 99-102, pls.63-68.
11. Artaxerxes III's tomb at Naksh-i Rostam, like the above-mentioned tombs, c.338/7 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, 102-106, pls.70-75.

III DIFFERENT TREATMENT OF THE CURLED MOTIF ON THE FOREHEAD

1. Representatives of the Ionian, Parthian and Lydian peoples on the Apadana relief in Persepolis, first half of the fifth century BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, pls.102 G, 104 B, 104 Ab.
2. The Assyrian throne-bearer on Xerxes' tomb. He has one row of broad curls on his forehead. 465 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, fig.49, no.17, tomb II, pl.44, no.17.
3. The Lybian throne-bearer on Xerxes' tomb. He has two rows of tight curls on his forehead. 465 BC. Schmidt, 1953: vol.III, fig.52, no.27, tomb II, pl.44, no.27.

D GREEK ART (SCULPTURE)

MALE EXAMPLES

I BROAD SPIRAL CURLS ON THE FOREHEAD: ONE ROW

1. Perseus from an ivory plaque from Samos, c. 630-20 BC. Height: 0.108 m
Richter, 1949: 40, fig.63.
2. Kouros head from Thera, c.615-590 BC, now in Leyden, no.Ro III 49.
3. Ivory statuette of a kneeling nude youth from Samos, end of the seventh century BC. Height: 0.145 m. Boardman, 1991: fig.54 (**Fig.3**).
4. Kleobis and Biton from Delphi, c.600 BC. Height: 1.97m Delphi Museum 467, 1524 (**Figs.4, 5**).
5. Kouros from Sounion, c.590-80 BC, now in Athens NM 2720. Height: 3.05 m
6. Chrysaor from the West pediment of the Artemis temple at Corfu, c.580 BC. Corfu Museum. Limestone. Height of the pediment: 3.15 m. Boardman, 1991: figs. 187, 187, 2.
7. Kouros from Orchomenos, c. 590-70 BC, now in Athens NM 9. Height: 1.27 m
8. Kouros from Ptoon, c.590-70 BC. Thebes Museum 1.
9. Kouros head in Copenhagen, probably from Naxos, c.590-70 BC. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. 2821.
10. Kouros from Thera, c.570-60 BC, now in Athens NM 8. Height: 1.24 m. (**Fig.6**).
11. Herakles, from the pediment which depicts the fight between Herakles and Triton, from Acropolis, c.580-70 BC. Limestone. Height: c.0.90 m. Acropolis 2.

12. Kouros statuette from Taranto, c.590-70 BC, now in Oxford. Ashmolean Museum, no.1886-744.
13. Kouros from Melos, c.550 BC, now in Athens NM 1558. Height: 2.14 m.
14. Kouros from Merenda in Attica, c.550 BC, now in Athens NM 4890. Height: 1.89 m.
15. Kouros from Epidauros, c.555-40 BC, now in Athens NM 63. Height: 0.34 m.
16. Kouros head probably from Euboea, now in Chalkis, c.555-40 BC. Chalkis Museum, 44.
17. Kouros from Paros, c.555-40, now in the Louvre, no.MND 888.
18. Kouros in Munich, probably from Attica, c.540-30 BC, Munich Glyptothek, 169. Height: 2.08 m.
19. Kouros head in Amiens, c.540-20 BC, Louvre (on loan from Amiens) 171.
20. Kouros from Keos, c.540-20 BC, now in Athens NM 3686. Height: 2.07 m.
21. Kouros from Ptoon, c.540-20 BC, Athens NM 12. Height: 1.60 m.

II BROAD SPIRAL CURLS ON THE FOREHEAD: TWO ROWS

1. Kouros head, c.540-20 BC, now in the Louvre, MNC 1357.
2. Kouros head, c.540-20 BC, now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts no.34 169.
3. Kouros head from Delphi, c. 540-20, now in Athens NM 64.

III TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): ONE ROW

1. The so-called "Rampin head" from the Acropolis. The row is parted in the middle, and the locks curl in opposite directions, c.550 BC. Louvre 3104.
Height: 0.29 m.
2. Kouros head, c.540-20 BC. Acropolis 663.
3. Kouros head, c.520-490 BC, now in the Louvre, MND 890.
4. Giant from the pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, c.510 BC.
Height of the pediment: 0.84 m. Olympia Museum. Boardman, 1991: fig.215.
5. Grave stele from Athens, depicting a man with a helmet, c.510 BC. Height: 1.02 m. Athens NM 1959.
6. Theseus from metope 8 of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, c.500 BC. Height: 0.67 m. Delphi Museum. Boardman, 1991: fig.213, 2.

IV TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): TWO ROWS

1. Kouros in Florence, c.575-550 BC. Height: 1.90 m. Museo Archeologico.
Richter, 1970: 83-84, no.70, figs.239-244.
2. Kouros from Ptoon, now in Athens NM 20. Height: 1.03 m.
3. Megakles' grave stele from Athens, c.540 BC. Height: 4.23 m. New York 11.185.
4. Kouros head in Kansas City, c.540-20 BC. In William Rockhill Gallery of Art.
5. Kouros head, c.520-490 BC, in Berlin no.536.
6. Fallen warrior from the West pediment of the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina, c.490 BC. Munich, Glyptothek 79.



7. Wrestlers from a statue-base from Athens, c.510 BC. Height: 0.32 m. Kerameikos Museum 3476.
8. Herakles hunting the deer from a metope from the Athenian treasury at Delphi, c.500 BC. Height: 0.67 m.
9. "Strangford Apollo", probably from Anaphe, c.490 BC, now in the British Museum B 475. Height: 1.01 m. (Fig.8 a-b).
10. Harmodios from the Tyrannicides group, the original of which is dated to 477-76 BC. Height: 1.85 m. Roman copy, Naples, Mus.no.G 104.

V TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): THREE ROWS

1. Kouros head from Leontinoi, c.520-490 BC. Height: 0.275 m. Catania Museo Comunale. Richter,1970: 146, no.184, figs.556-558.
2. Aristodikos kouros from Attica, c.510-500 BC. Height: 1.98 m. Athens NM 3938 (Fig.7).
3. The "Webb Head" a Roman copy of a Greek original of c. 500 BC from Attica. Height: 0.29 m. British Museum 2728.
4. Kouros from the Acropolis. He is dressed in two chitons and a himation. End of the sixth century BC. Acropolis 633.

VI TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL-CURLS): FOUR ROWS

1. Theseus from the West pediment of the temple of Apollo at Eretria, c.500-490 BC. Height: 1.10 m. Chalkis Museum 4 (Fig.9).

VII TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): UNUSUAL TREATMENT

1. Kouros from Anavysos, Kroisos, c.540-20 BC, now in Athens NM 3851.
Height: 1.94 m. (Fig.11).
2. Small male bearded head from the Acropolis. The left part of the forehead is broken. Part of the coiffure is preserved on the right temple. It consists of two rows of globules which represent the snail-shell curled motif.

VIII CORKSCREW CURLS

1. Aristion's grave-stele from Athens, c.510 BC. Athens NM 29. Height: 2.4 m. (Fig. 10).
2. Part of a grave-stele which represents an athlete holding a spear. From Athens. Athens NM BE 8/1974 (M 1541).

FEMALE EXAMPLES

I BROAD SPIRAL CURLS ON THE FOREHEAD: ONE ROW

1. Clay plaque from Axos (Crete), middle of the seventh century BC. Height: 0.13 m. Chania Museum.
2. Auxerre kore, probably from Crete, c.640 BC. Limestone. Height: 0.65 m. Louvre 3098.
3. Marble statuette, support for a perirrhanterion, from Olympia, second half of the seventh century BC. Height: 0.475 m. Olympia Museum. Richter, 1968: 29, no.8. figs.45-48.

4. Fragment from the head of a female figure which was a support for a perirrhanterion, from the second half of the seventh century BC. Delphi Museum. Richter, 1968: 30, no.11, fig.56.
5. Ivory group with two girls, c. 630 BC, now in New York 17.190, 73, Morgan Gift. Height: 0.137 m.
6. Gorgon from an ivory relief from Samos which represents Perseus killing Medusa (cf. above no.1, 1), c.630-20 BC. Height: 0.108 m. Samos Museum. Richter, 1949: 40, fig.63.
7. Limestone relief with the head of a woman from Malesina, Lokris, last quarter of the seventh century BC. Height: 0.34 m. Louvre MND 910.
8. Female bust, used as a finial on a bronze handle, last quarter of the seventh century BC. Louvre 2645.
9. Limestone head from Laganello, near Syracuse, c.590 BC. Height: 0.558 m. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Richter, 1968: 39, no.41, figs.135-8.
10. Gorgon from the West pediment of the Artemis temple at Corfu, c.580 BC. Corfu museum. Limestone. Height of the pediment: 3.15 m. Richter, 1949: 15, fig.20.
11. Statuette from Vulci, Etruscan, first quarter of the sixth century BC. British Museum D 1.
12. Sphinx from Athens, c.560 BC. Height: 0.63 m. Kerameikos Museum. Richter, 1949: 67, fig.103.

13. Gorgon from a metope from the temple C at Selinus, c.530 BC. Palermo Museum, Richter, 1949: 126, fig.203.

II TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): ONE ROW

1. Limestone head from Sikyon, middle of the sixth century BC. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 04.10 H.L.Pierce Fund 1904
2. Kore, c.530 BC. Acropolis 669.
3. Kore, c.525 BC. Height: 1.82 m. Acropolis 682.
4. Kore, last quarter of the sixth century BC. Height: 0.93 m. Acropolis 673.
5. Female statue from Eleusis, c.490-480 BC. Athens NM 24.

III TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): TWO ROWS

1. Kore. c.530 BC. Acropolis 660.
2. Terracotta head from Medma (Rosarno), end of the sixth century BC. Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Richter, 1968: 96, no.174, fig.556.
3. Woman's head from the parapet sima at Ephesos, c.500 BC. Height: 0.10 m. British Museum B215.
4. Relief which represents three dancing girls from the Acropolis, c.500 BC. Height: 0.39 m. Acropolis 702.
5. Head of a terracotta figurine from the Acropolis, sixth century BC. Acropolis 12731.
6. Head of a terracotta figurine from the Acropolis, sixth century BC. Acropolis 12730.

7. Head of a terracotta figurine from the Acropolis, sixth century BC. Acropolis 12762.
8. Terracotta head of Athena with helmet from Olympia, c.490-80 BC. Height: 0.224 m. Fuchs, 1983: 550, fig.652.

IV TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): THREE ROWS

1. Kore, the so-called "Antenor's kore", c.530 BC. Height: 2.155 m. Acropolis 681.
2. Colossal head of a goddess, maybe Aphrodite, the so-called "Acrolith Ludovisi", c.480-70 BC. Height: 0.83 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Fuchs, 1983: 553, fig.658.

V TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): UNUSUAL TREATMENT

1. Kore, c.500-490 BC. Acropolis 676 (Fig.14).

VI ROWS OF PLASTIC GLOBULES

1. Terracotta seated female figurine from the Acropolis. She has two rows of plastic globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10895.
2. Terracotta standing female figure, dressed in a chiton and a diagonal himation. She has three rows of globules on the forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10697.

3. Terracotta figurine dressed in the same way as the above-mentioned example and with two rows of globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10695.
4. Terracotta figurine from the Acropolis dressed in the same way as the above-mentioned two examples nos.2 and 3. She has three rows of globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10726.
5. Terracotta figurine from the Acropolis which probably represents Athena. She is dressed in the same way as the above-mentioned examples nos.2, 3 and 4 and she is wearing on her head a helmet with a high crest. She also has four rows of globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 517.
6. Terracotta figurine from the Acropolis, dressed in the same way as nos.2, 3, 4 with four rows of globules, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10727.
7. Terracotta figurine from the Acropolis, the same as nos.2, 3, 4 and 6, with three rows of globules, sixth century BC. Acropolis 10510.
8. Terracotta seated figurine from the Acropolis which probably represents Athena since she is wearing a helmet with a high crest. Three rows of globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 11142.
9. Terracotta seated figurine from the Acropolis with three or four rows of plastic globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 11630.
10. Terracotta seated figurine from the Acropolis with three rows of plastic globules on her forehead, sixth century BC. Acropolis 11358.

VII SNAIL-SHELL CURLS: UNUSUAL TREATMENT

1. Terracotta seated female figure from the Acropolis. Instead of rows of curls or plastic globules she wears on her head a stephane which probably indicates the use of the curled motif. The curls could have been painted on the stephane, sixth century BC. Acropolis 11670.

VIII CORKSCREW CURLS

1. Kore from Eleusis dated at the end of the sixth century BC. Athens NM 27.

E CYPRIOT ART

MALE EXAMPLES

I TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS) ON THE FOREHEAD: ONE ROW

1. A limestone head of a statue of a worshipper, who is wearing a helmet with up-turned cheek-pieces, and has one row of snail-shell curls on his forehead. Furthermore the whole of his short beard is rendered in four rows of snail-shell curls. The rows are parted in the middle and curl in opposite directions. From Idalion, c.525-500 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 76. GR 1872.8-16.59.

II TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): TWO ROWS

1. A limestone head of a statue which represents a bearded worshipper whose short beard is also decorated with snail-shell curls. He wears on his head a

turban-like head-dress which is made of a cluster of reeds and is decorated with rosettes. From Idalion, c.575 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 79. GR 1872.8-16.10 (Fig.13).

2. A limestone statue of a worshipper, wearing chiton and himation, from Idalion, c.525 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 104. GR 1872.8-16.3.
3. A limestone head of a bearded "Herakles", wearing a lion-skin. His beard is decorated by rows of tight curls; these are divided in the middle and the spirals curl in opposite directions. From Idalion, c.470 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 212. GR 1873.3-20.7.

III TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS): THREE ROWS

1. Upper part of a colossal limestone statue which probably represents either a worshipper or a priest of Apollo. He wears a chiton and himation and has a laurel wreath on his head. His beard is decorated with five rows of snail-shell curls; the rows are parted in the middle and the spirals curl in opposite directions. Immediately below the lowest row of curls the beard is rendered in vertical ridges. From Idalion, c.500-480 BC. British Museum Sculpt. C 154. GR 1917.7-1.233 .
2. A limestone head from a statue of a worshipper, who wears a laurel wreath on his head and has his beard rendered in seven rows of tight curls. The rows are parted in the middle and curl in opposite directions. From the sanctuary of Apollo at Pyla, early fifth century BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 151. GR 1872.8-16.49 (Fig.12).

FEMALE EXAMPLES

I NOT VERY TIGHT CURLS ON THE FOREHEAD: ONE ROW

1. Limestone relief which depicts the head of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. From Idalion, c.550 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 427, GR 1872.8-16.37.
2. Limestone head of a woman who wears much jewellery. The row on her forehead is parted in the middle and the spirals curl in opposite directions. From tomb 16 at Enkomi, c.540 BC. British Museum Sculpt.C 263, GR 1897.4-1.1561.

II TIGHT SPIRAL CURLS (SNAIL-SHELL CURLS) ON THE FOREHEAD: ONE ROW

1. Limestone head from Cyprus, last quarter of the sixth century BC. New York, CS 1370.

F EXAMPLES FROM GREEK VASE-PAINTING

I ONE ROW OF CURLS ON THE FOREHEAD

1. Details from the "Chigi" vase, c.640 BC. Now in Rome, Villa Giulia. CVA I, pls. 1-4.
2. Dinos with stand by the Gorgon painter. Perseus and the Gorgons. On the Gorgons' head, c.600-590 BC. Now in the Louvre E 874. ABV 8, 1.
3. Interior of a lip-cup. The fight between Herakles and Triton. On Triton's forehead. From Tarquinia, middle of the sixth century BC. Arias, 1962: pl.XIV.
4. Standlet by Ergotimos and Kleitias with the representation of a Gorgoneion, c.570 BC. Now in New York, 31.11.4. ABV 78, 12.
5. Tyrrhenian amphora of the Guglielmi Group. An erotic scene. On the forehead of the third woman from the left, c.565-500 BC. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1432. ABV 102, 98.
6. Tyrrhenian amphora with the representation of Eriphyle's death. On Eriphyle's forehead, c.565-500 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv.4841. ABV 97, 22.
7. Plate by Lydos. Gorgoneion. Munich Antikensammlungen, inv. 87600. Para 46.
8. Belly amphora of type A by the Amasis painter from Vulci with a representation of Athena and warriors. There is one row of curls on the forehead of Athena, on the second man from left, and on the man next to Athena. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv.3210. ABV 151, 21.

9. Neck amphora by Amasis painter from Orvieto which represents Achilles arming. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8027. ABV 152, 27.
10. Belly amphora by Amasis painter with the representation of Dionysos and Satyrs at vintage. There is one row of curls on the forehead of the Maenad with a wreath of ivy-leaves on her head. Now in Basel, Antikenmuseum Ka.420. Para.65.
11. Amphora by Amasis painter from Vulci. It represents Menelaos and Helen, c.560-25 BC. Now in Munich Antikensammlungen 1383 (J 75). ABV 150,7.
12. Fragment of an amphora by Amasis painter. It represents a young boy, c.560-25 BC. Now in Basel, Herbert A Cahn Collection, 814.
13. Neck amphora by Amasis painter, from Vulci. On side A, Athena and Poseidon; on side B, Dionysos and two Maenads. On Poseidon's and on Dionysos' foreheads, c.560-25 BC. Paris, Bibl.Nat. Cabinet des Medailles 222. ABV 152, 25.
14. Neck amphora by Amasis painter. A male divinity with Athena. On the man's forehead, c.560-25 BC. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8026. ABV 152, 26.
15. Belly amphora in Würzburg. Herakles fighting with the lion. Middle of the sixth century BC. Würzburg. Langlotz, 1932: no.247.
16. Belly amphora in Würzburg. Herakles fighting with the Triton. One row of curls on the Triton's forehead, c.540 BC. Würzburg. Langlotz, 1932: no.263. ABV 142, 6.
17. Lekythos from Athens. The struggle for the Delphic tripod. On Herakles' forehead. Vienna. Haspels, 1936: pl.16, 1b.

18. Lekythos by the Gela painter, from Athens. Athena with Herakles. Each has one row of curls on the forehead. Vienna. Haspels, 1936: pl. 26, 1.a.b.
19. Lekythos by the Athena painter, from Athens. Herakles and Atlas. One row on Herakles' forehead. Athens. Haspels, 1936: pl.47, 3a.
20. Plaque from Acropolis. A woman and a man with pipes. On the back of the man's head there are two rows of curls. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. I, no.2547.
21. Metope from the temple at Thermon. Chelidon and her sister. There is one row of curls on the forehead of both of them, c. 630 BC. Athens NM. Pfuhl, 1923: vol.III, pl.173, fig.481.
22. Belly amphora of Group E by Exekias, with Herakles fighting Geryon. There is one row of curls on the Gorgoneion on the shield of Geryones. The row is parted in the middle and the curls turn in opposite directions. Louvre F 53. ABV 136,49.
23. Belly amphora by Exekias with the representation of the suicide of Ajax. On the forehead of Ajax. Boulogne Museum 558. ABV 145, 18.
24. Hydria by the Lysippides painter or in his manner. Dionysos feasting. There is one row of curls on the forehead of one of the satyrs, c.530-20 BC. British Museum B 302. ABV 261,40.
25. Kylix in Würzburg. There is one row of curls on the representation of a Gorgoneion in the interior of the vase, c.530 BC. Langlotz, 1932: no.425.
26. Skyphos in Würzburg with the representation of a battle scene. There is one row of curls on a Gorgoneion on a shield, c.520 BC. Langlotz, 1932: no.392.

27. Interior of an Eye-cup in the manner of the Andokides painter. Gorgoneion.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344.
28. Interior of an Eye-cup, group of Walters. Mask of Dionysos. Baltimore,
Walters Art Gallery 4842. ABV 205, 1.
29. Cup of the Segment Class. Youths and men. On the forehead of the first youth
from the left. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1958.7. Para.103, 4 bis.
30. Neck Amphora by the Antimenes painter. It represents Herakles fighting
Apollo for the Delphic tripod. On Herakles forehead. Arlesheim, Schweitzer
Collection. ABV 269.41.
31. Hydria of the Leagros group from Vulci. Herakles killing the sleeping
Alkyoneus. On Alkyoneus' forehead. British Museum B 314. ABV 360, 2.
32. Hydria by the Madrid painter from Vulci. Herakles killing Kyknos. On
Herakles' forehead. Vatican Museums 418. ABV 329, 1.
33. Eye kylix by Nikosthenes. Gorgoneion. New York. Hoppin, 1924: 212-13.
34. Kylix by Nikosthenes. Gorgoneion. Paris, Cab.des Med.319. CVA I, pl.48, 8,
9, 11.
35. Eye kylix by Nikosthenes, probably from Vulci. Gorgoneion. Louvre F 121.
CVA X, pl.106, 4-7.
36. Eye kylix by Nikosthenes, from Vulci. Gorgoneion. Louvre F 122. CVA X,
pl.98, 7-9.
37. Kylix by Pamphaios, from Vulci. Gorgoneion, the rows are parted in the
middle and the curls turn in opposite directions. Madrid. Hoppin, 1924: 303.
38. Eye kylix by Pamphaios. Gorgoneion. Louvre 127 bis. CVA X, pl.101, 1-5.

39. Pinax from Athenian Acropolis. It represents Herakles and Hermes standing by a chariot. On Herakles' forehead. Hoppin, 1924: 326-327.
40. Belly amphora of type A by Psiax from Vulci. Dionysos and Satyrs. On Dionysos' forehead. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico, 11008. ARV 7, 2.
41. Amphora of type A by Psiax from Vulci. Herakles killing the lion. There is also one row on the back of Herakles' head, c.520 BC. Brescia. ABV 292, 1.
42. Neck amphora from Vulci now in Würzburg. The fight between Herakles and the Triton, c.510 BC. There is one row on Triton's forehead. ABV 286, IX.5.
43. Cup by Phintias from Vulci. It depicts the fight between Herakles and Alkyoneus in the presence of Hermes. On Alkyoneus' and on Hermes' foreheads. One row also on the back of their heads. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2590. ARV 24, 12.

II MULTIPLE ROWS ON THE FOREHEAD

A CURLS

1. Belly amphora of type A by Exekias from Vulci with the representation of Achilles and Ajax playing. There are two rows of curls on the forehead of Ajax, c.540-30 BC. Vatican Museums 344. ABV 145, 13.
2. Belly amphora of type A by the Andokides painter from Orvieto. Achilles and Ajax playing. There are two rows of curls on the forehead of Ajax. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8037, H.L.Pierce Fund. ARV 4, 7.
3. Fragment of a vase from the Acropolis. Herakles and Hermes. There are two rows on Hermes' forehead. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. I, 2557.

4. Fragment of a vase from the Acropolis with the representation of Athena who has multiple rows of curls on her forehead. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. I, 2585.
5. Fragment of a vase from the Acropolis with the representation of Athena, and with the same motif as no.4. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. I, 2586.
6. Lekythos from Athens with the depiction of Herakles killing the lion. There are multiple rows of curls on Herakles' forehead and three rows of curls on the back of his head as well. Munich. Haspels, 1936: pl.17, 2.
7. Cup by Oltos with Poseidon who has three rows of curls on his forehead. Copenhagen, National Museum, inv.13407. ARV 59, 57.
8. Neck amphora by the Kleophrades painter with the representation of a Satyr who has four rows of curls on his forehead. Harrow School 55. ARV 183, 11.
9. Vase in the form of two female heads looking in opposite directions by Skythes. There are three rows of plastic curls on each forehead, c.525-20 BC. Pfuhl, 1923: vol. III, fig.270.

B PLASTIC GLOBULES

1. Jug in the form of a female head by Charinos, from Vulci, with five rows of globules. St.Petersburg. Hoppin, 1924: 64-65.
2. The same as the above-mentioned example from Vulci. It is a companion piece which came from the same grave as no.1. St.Petersburg. Hoppin, 1924: 70-71.

3. Rhyton in the form of a male and a female head looking in opposite directions, probably from Athens. Multiple rows of globules on both heads. Louvre. Hoppin, 1924: 146-147.
4. Lekythos in the form of a female head by Prokles, from Tanagra. It has five rows of globules on the forehead. Berlin no.2202.
5. Amphora by Phintias. On the front there is a representation of Tityos carrying Leto. There are three rows of globules on Apollo's forehead as well as two rows on the back of his hair and on the back of Tityos' hair. On the reverse there is the depiction of athletes who have multiple rows of globules on their foreheads and on the back of their hair as well. It is dated c. 510-500 BC and is now in the Louvre. Arias, 1962: pl.90.
6. Amphora by Phintias from Tarquinia with the representation of the struggle for the Delphic tripod. There are three rows of globules on Herakles' forehead and on the back of his hair, c.510 BC. Arias, 1962: pls.92-93.
7. Lekythos in Agrigento with the representation of three warriors who have three rows of globules on their foreheads. It is dated c.500 BC. Haspels, 1936: pl.21.
8. Belly amphora of type A by the Berlin painter with the representation of Herakles. Apart from the multiple rows of plastic globules on his forehead, he has four rows on the back of his hair as well. Furthermore the same motif can be found on his beard. Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 456. ARV 1634. Para 342, 1.

9. Amphora of the Nolan type by the Pan painter from Suessula. Zeus and Ganymedes. Both of them have multiple rows of globules on their foreheads. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.184. ARV 553, 39.
10. Stamnos by the painter Munich 2413 with the representation of the birth of Erichthonios. There are multiple rows of globules on Hephaistos' and on one of the Erotes' foreheads. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2413. ARV 495, 1.
11. Pelike by Epiktetos from Caere with the representation of two Goddesses with multiple rows of globules on their foreheads. Berlin. Hoppin, 1924: 302.3.
12. Cup by Peithinos, from Vulci, with the representation of Peleus and Thetis with five rows of globules on Peleus' forehead c.500 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2279. ARV 115, 2.
13. Skyphos by Makron with the depiction of Helen, Paris, Aphrodite, Peitho and a young boy on one side and the representation of Helena and Menelaos on the other. There are multiple rows of globules on the foreheads of Aphrodite and Helen, c.480 BC. There is also one row of curls on Menelaos' helmet which recalls the example List1 F, II, C, 4 (below). De Witt, 1880: pls.7-8; Hauser, 1906: 98.
14. Cup by Douris which represents Eos with Memnon's body, from Capua. The same motif is seen on Eos' forehead. Louvre G 115. ARV 434, 74.
15. Vase by Pistoxenos with the representation of Iolaos and Linos. On Iolaos' forehead. Pfuhl, 1923: vol. III, fig.471.
16. Crater by the Altamura painter with the representation of the sack of Troy; this motif is found on Neoptolemos' helmet. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

- 59.176. Caskey and Beazley, 1963 and Folio, 1954: vol.III, no. 159, pls.XCII-XCV and suppl.pls.22-23.
17. Vase in the form of a female head from the Acropolis with four rows of plastic globules. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. III, 1058.
 18. Vase in the form of a male head from the Acropolis with three rows of plastic globules. Graef-Langlotz, 1909: vol. III, 1061.
 19. Cup from Orvieto showing youths. There are two rows of globules on the forehead of the fourth youth from the left. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.193. Caskey and Beazley, 1963 and Folio, 1954: vol.III, no.136: pl.LXXI 1-3.
 20. Hydria in the Goluchow Collection. There are four rows of plastic globules on the forehead of a winged goddess. Beazley, 1928: 14, 1.
 21. Lekythos by the Brygos painter with the representation of a goddess with a phiale who has three rows of plastic globules, c.490-80 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no.40, pl.40.
 22. Amphora by the Kleophrades painter with the representation of Apollo, probably, who has three rows of globules, c.480 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no.13, pl.14.
 23. Hydria by the Nausikaa painter which depicts Herakles as an infant killing the snakes. This motif is seen on the forehead of the first woman from the right, c.460-50 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no. 71, pl.74.

24. Kantharos. It has a plastic female head at the point where the handle meets the lip of the vase. This head has two rows of plastic globules, c.510 BC. Würzburg. Langlotz, 1932: no. 437.

C PAINTED DOTS

1. Hydria by the Kleophrades painter with the representation of the sack of Troy. In the scene with the death of Priam there is a Trojan woman with four rows of painted dots on her forehead. It is dated c.480 BC, and is now in Naples 2422. ARV 189, 74.
2. Volute crater by the Niobid painter with scenes from the Amazonomachy. There are multiple rows of painted dots on the forehead of an Amazon and a Greek. Arias, 1962: pls.176-177.
3. Kylix by the Eos master with the depiction of Eos and Kephalos. Eos has on her forehead and on her temples multiple rows of painted dots. Pfuhl, 1923: vol. III, fig.449.
4. Cup by Douris from Cerveteri. On the exterior there is the representation of the fight between Odysseus and Ajax for Achilles' armour. There are multiple rows of painted dots on Achilles' helmet. On the interior we have the depiction of Odysseus and Neoptolemos and the same motif appears again on the helmet. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3695. ARV 429, 26.
5. Column crater by the Pan painter with a sacrificial scene, from Cumae. The motif is seen this time on a herm, c.460 BC. Naples Museo Nazionale. ARV 551, 15.

6. Calyx crater by the Dokimaseia painter with the representation of Aegisthus' murder. There are multiple rows of painted dots on Klytemnestra's forehead. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.1246, W.F.Warden Fund. Para 373, 34.
7. Hydria with the representation of a warrior leaving his home. He has four rows of painted dots on his temples, c.500-480 BC. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.878. Caskey and Beazley, 1963 and Folio, 1954: vol.II, no.68, pl.XXXIII.
8. Hydria by the Niobid painter with the representation of Orpheus' death. On the forehead of one of the Maenads there are multiple rows of painted dots. From Foiano. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 90.156. Caskey and Beazley, 1963 and Folio, 1954: vol.II, no.107, pl. LVII.
9. Kantharos in the Goluchow Collection. It represents a female figure who has multiple rows of painted dots on her forehead. Beazley, 1928: 16.
10. Stamnos by the painter of the Deepdene amphora with the depiction of Danae and Perseus. Danae has the same motif on her forehead, c.470-60 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no.82, pl.86.
11. Lekythos by Hermonax with the representation of a Maenad who has the same motif on her forehead, c.460 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no.85, pl.89.
12. Column Crater which depicts youths and women. A woman in a black dress has multiple rows of painted dots on her forehead, c.460 BC. New York. Richter, 1936: no.87, pl.91.

2. THE CURLED HAIRSTYLE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

a. First half of the fifth century

By the beginning of the fifth century we find the tightly curled hairstyle in multiple rows in full development and in constant use. Although the first traces of the approaching Classical era are already evident the Archaic tradition is still strong. We can see the use of the hairstyle in works like the figures from the East II pediment of the Aphaia temple at Aegina, which is probably to be dated c.480-475, since it is the most advanced of the four pediments that survive in fragments.¹ On the figure of the right helper from the same composition, a combination of the old Archaic hairstyle and a new one of the Severe style can be noticed. The short front hair is rendered on the forehead in three rows of tight snail shell curls. The long hair at the back is made into two braids which go around the head and are joined on the forehead under the rows of the spiral curls. On the back of his head and immediately under his braids there is also a row of tight snail-shell-like curls.² The hairstyle motif with the two braids wrapped around the head is one of the commonest of the Severe and early Classical styles. Works like the so-called Blond Boy (Fig.15) from the Acropolis or the Omphalos Apollo or the bronze Zeus from Cape Artemision have this hairstyle. However the figure from the east pediment at Aegina must be one of the earliest examples of it.

Sculptures such as the so-called "Apollo" from Piombino or the "charioteer" from Motya show the use of the curled hairstyle within the first decades of the fifth

1. Stewart, 1990: 137-8.

2. Ohly, 1976: Taf.29.

century BC. The “Piombino” Apollo is a bronze statue of a kouros found in the sea, which is now in the Louvre (List 2 A, 3). The under-life-size kouros is standing with the left foot and the two forearms advanced. The fist of his left hand is clenched as if he was holding something. The pose reminds us of the bronze Apollo from Piraeus.³ The statue, is usually dated c.480 BC, although there is a debate among scholars as to its actual dating.

Ridgway goes so far as to suggest that the Apollo is a Roman forgery dating to the first century BC. She bases her opinion firstly on the fact that she could not make any accurate comparison between the Apollo and works of the late Archaic period and the Severe style; secondly on the sufficient comparative material from the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods; and lastly on the stylistic analysis of the letters of the dedicatory inscription and on the lead plaque which was found inside the statue and had the names of two sculptors of the first century BC.⁴

The “charioteer” was found not long ago at Motya in Sicily and the discussion about its dating still goes on (List 2 A, 7) (Fig.16 a-b). It depicts a young beardless man dressed in a long sleeveless chiton with a wide, probably leather, band around his chest. His right arm is raised and the left, bent at the elbow, rests with his hand on his left hip. The contour of the body is very well defined under the rich crinkles of the smooth dress. His short front hair is rendered in three rows of tight spiral curls while on the back of his head he has two more rows of curls.

This arrangement finds a remarkably close parallel in the hair of Aristodikos

3. Fuchs, 1983: 61-62.

4. Ridgway, 1967: 43-44.

(Fig.7). He too has a triple row of curls over the forehead and a double row of spirals at the back above the neck, and the rest of his hair is likewise not finished in detail. There are differences between the two sculptures in terms of finish, with finer indication of spiralling given to the curls of Aristodikos, but nonetheless the comparability of the hair arrangements is striking.

There are two different opinions about its identification: either a charioteer is represented or a priest of a Phoenician god, since it was found near a Phoenician sanctuary. As for its dating, there is still a lot controversy. Many scholars date it to the first half of the fifth century BC, the period of the Severe style, but according to others it should be dated later in the fifth century BC, even after the Parthenon, because of the treatment of the dress and the advanced pose of its body.⁵ The former opinion about its dating seems to be correct. According to Stewart the statue, which he believes represents a priest of Melkart because of his commanding posture, reminds him of Angelitos' Athena. However its rendering is more advanced and mobile which shows us "just how experimental these sculptors could be".⁶ A further argument for a dating in the first half of the fifth century is the rendering of the tight curls which is closer to the snail-shell-like shape of the spirals of the Archaic period than to the corkscrew shape of later times, as the comparison with Aristodikos shows.

The master who made this statue was probably a Greek artist from Asia Minor who received the commission perhaps from a Phoenician-Carthaginian customer.⁷

5. Di Vita, 1988: 39-43; Arias, 1988: 143-44; *Griechische Plastik*, II, 1986: 239, pls.82-85.

6. Stewart, 1990: 148.

7. Di Vita, 1988: 51. He also compares (loc.cit, n.39) the Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi, some of which have curled hairstyles.

In that case the rendering of the hair in three rows of curls would be another indication of the survival of the hairstyle in Greek art of the first half of the fifth century BC. If, as some think, the artist was an Ionian-Greek this statue could be perceived as an indication of the use of this particular hairstyle in Ionia too, with some reservations since we do not have any other examples of the use of the hairstyle in Ionia before the fourth century BC.

More examples from the same period occur in relief sculpture. A metope from the temple E at Selinus depicts Zeus and Hera⁸ (List 2 A, 10). Zeus is sitting on his throne and is approached by Hera who is unveiling herself. On his forehead Zeus has two rows of curls. Another example is the so-called "Chiaramonti relief" in the Vatican Museum⁹ (List 2 A, 6). This is usually believed to be a Neo-Attic copy of an original which is dated c.470 or 460 BC. The original may have stood at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis. It was a work of the Boeotian sculptor Socrates and it depicts the Three Graces. The second of the Three Graces has three rows of curls on her forehead.

However Socrates' relief could have had a different appearance from the "Chiaramonti relief". There are two reliefs from the Acropolis (Walter, nos.274, 275)¹⁰ which represent Athena and three female figures in the background. The goddess wears a polos on her head instead of the usual helmet. The three female figures are represented wearing a girdled garment and with both of their arms

8. Fuchs, 1983: figs.463, 662, 663.

9. Fuchs, 1983: 506-7, fig.588.

10. Walter, 1923: 128-130.

crossed on their chests. On their heads they wear a polos. These representations could also be possible copies of Socrates' work.¹¹ The style of the figures, their frontal rigid pose and their headdress resemble the representation of xoana in vase-painting and sculpture, such as the early fourth century representation of the xoanon in the Xenokrateia relief.¹² (Fig. 23)

The next examples chronologically come from Olympia. An under-life-size terracotta group represents Zeus and Ganymedes (List 2 A, 5) (Fig.17). Zeus has on his forehead three rows of tight spiral curls of the same type as the Archaic statues of the end of the sixth century BC. Ganymede's front hair is short, arranged in rows of curls, while the hair on the back is left long as on the Archaic kouroi.¹³ However the arrangement of the front hair on Ganymede's forehead is not the same as on Zeus' forehead and the rest of the Archaic kouroi. It resembles the arrangement of the front hair of the so-called Blond Boy from the Acropolis (Fig.15).

Another instance comes from the metopes of the temple of Zeus. The first metope on the West side of the temple presents Herakles with the Nemean lion (List 2 A, 14). Athena and Hermes stand next to him. The goddess wears her front hair short arranged in two rows of snail-shell-curls, while the rest of the hair is gathered in a chignon.¹⁴

The most advanced examples of the curled motif come, however, from the two

11. Walter, 1923: 128-130.

12. Brahms, 1994: 254-256.

13. Moustaka, 1993: 42-45.

14. Boardman, 1991: fig.23.1.

pediments of the temple of Zeus, on the statues of Hippodamia from the east (List 2 A, 15) (Fig.18) and Apollo from the west (List 2 A, 16) (Fig.19).¹⁵ The treatment of the rows of locks is freer, they curl more naturally, and they do not have the tight snail-shell-like shape of their predecessors. Their centres also are not compact as in the Archaic period but they are drilled. Although the idea of a row of curls decorating the forehead is the same as in the Archaic period, the freer and more natural treatment of the motif speaks for the distance from Archaic times.

It can be concluded from the examples just discussed that the curled hairstyle in multiple rows continues to be used for a broad range of figures in most categories of Greek sculpture, bronze statues, marble figures, marble reliefs and pedimental sculptures, at least until c.460 BC. The style of the hairdressing of individual examples varies, suggesting that this use is not a case of mannerism, but that there is a living tradition of hair arrangement continuing from the Archaic period.

The question of what happens after c.460 BC, whether there is a hiatus of up to thirty or forty years in the use of the tight rows of snail-shell curls after which the hairdressing returns as an Archaistic feature, or whether the application of the hairstyle finds continuity through a series of herm heads, is a complex one that depends on the interpretation of the Hermes Propylaios ascribed to Alkamenes and its related image, the Hekate Epipyrgidia.

15. Ashmole and Yalouris, 1967.

b. The Hermes Propylaios and the Hekate Epipyrgidia of Alkamenes

We turn therefore to an examination of the curled hairstyle as it is used in the second half of the fifth century BC on a work of Alkamenes, the Hermes Propylaios, preserved only in later copies. There are conflicting views about this Hermes, both with regard to its date (whether it belongs c.450 BC or c.430-20 BC), and the extent to which it may be regarded as the beginning of Archaistic art in sculpture or simply an important monument in the continuity of such forms from the Archaic to the Classical periods.

According to one strongly held view, to which we shall also subscribe, the Hermes Propylaios was probably the first work where the curled hairstyle was used as a revival of an Archaic element and not as a survival from the Archaic period. It was probably therefore the first time that the hairstyle was used as an Archaistic feature, and this signifies the Hermes as one of the first Archaistic works. In connection with this view it is important also to evaluate another Archaistic work, the Hekate Epipyrgidia. Although Hekate does not make use of the hairstyle, since its Archaisms are confined to the lower part of her drapery, its examination here is appropriate since it is also reputed to be a work by Alkamenes. If correctly interpreted in this way it would mark, together with the Hermes, a strong beginning or redefinition of the Archaistic style in sculpture in Attica in the later fifth century BC.

An alternative interpretation of the Hermes Propylaios would see it as an element of continuity from the Archaic period through a series of herms with mixtures of

Archaic hairstyles and Severe style features.¹⁶ Proponents of this view have drawn attention to three references in ancient literature about the origin of the herm type: a) according to Herodotos (2, 51) the first who made herms were the Pelasgians and the Athenians took the tradition from them; b) Pausanias (IV, 33, 3) suggested that it was the Athenians who started the tradition; c) according to Plato, *Hipparchos* (228 c-229 d), Peisistratos' son, Hipparchos, was the first to decorate the roads of Athens with herms in order to mark the way from the centre of the city to the demes.¹⁷

Archaeological research seems to confirm Plato's account since there are no archaeological indications for the existence of herms before the late sixth century BC. Probably the only example surviving from these early herms is a part of a herm which was found in Koropi.¹⁸

In order to re-examine this much discussed question we shall review the evidence firstly for the Hermes Propylaios and then for the Hekate Epipyrgidia.

1. The Hermes Propylaios

The numerous marble replicas of the Hermes are divided into two types, called the Ephesos and the Pergamon types after the cities where the two principal copies were found. Both of them carry epigrams which refer to Alkamenes as the master of the original. But a number of questions arise which must be addressed. Which of the copies more accurately reflects the prototype? Was Alkamenes' work the

16. Brahms, 1994: 109, 110, 111.

17. Brahms, 1994: 105.

18. Brahms, 1994: 104, 106.

herm which guarded the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis or not? Was it an early Classical creation or a work of the later fifth century BC? Consequently was the Hermes of Alkamenes the first Archaistic work or a continuation in the series of herms from the Archaic period?

Starting with the Ephesos copy (Izmir, Basmahane Museum, Inv.no.675), this was discovered in 1928 in the Gymnasium of Vedius in Ephesos where it decorated-together with a Herakles-Herm -the entrance to the Apodyterion¹⁹ (List 2 B I a, 1) (Fig.20). It is a bearded herm with multiple rows of snail-shell-like curls decorating its forehead. The rear hair is hanging free on its back while the long, side locks fall down on to its shoulders. The facial expression is mild and serious.²⁰ The copy is dated to the second century AD. Its state of preservation is not very good. Its face in particular is very battered, and the original surface is preserved in very few parts. Those few parts, however, show traces of fine chiselling.²¹ The type is by far the commoner, being preserved in 23 copies of which the best are: a) the above-mentioned Ephesos copy; b) the herm in the Terme Museum in Rome (Mus.Naz., Inv.no.121008) (List 2 B I a, 4); c) St.Petersburg (Hermitage, Inv.no.A 26) (List 2 B I a, 2); d) a copy in the Simonetti Collection in Munich (List 2 B I a, 5) and e) Athens, Stadion A (List 2 B I a, 6).²²

Turning to consider the Pergamon herm (Istanbul Museum, Inv.no.1433), this has the same overall form as the Ephesos copy, but there are important differences of

19. Willers, 1967: 44.

20. Willers, 1967: 80-81.

21. Willers, 1967: 44.

22. Willers, 1967: 72, nos.2, 4, 5, 6; Brahms, 1994: 119.

detail (List 2 B I b, 1). The bearded face has three rows of "corkscrew" curls on the top of the forehead and two long side locks which hang down on to the shoulders (Fig.21). The main difference from the Ephesos herm is in the treatment of the locks on the forehead. These are not any more the tight snail-shell-like curls but they are elongated and rendered in a corkscrew shape. The rows of curls are kept closer to the forehead and they are removed from the face.²³ Other differences affect the eyes which are smaller, the nose which is broad and short, and the mouth which is narrower than that of the Ephesos type. The rendering of the beard, also, is different. It is not developed from a central axis but is rendered in long strands. In comparison to the Ephesos copy the Pergamon work is, according to Willers, a lifeless and dull creation with a sullen and dry face. Willers, continuing the evaluation of the two types, argues that we cannot have a common prototype for both of them. Only the Ephesos copy, he maintains, follows the fifth century original of Alkamenēs while the Pergamon herm is a Neoaattic creation which reminds us of Alkamenēs' work but at the same time diverges away from it.²⁴

There are, however, objections to the later dating of the Pergamon type. Schmidt had already dated the prototype of the Pergamon type c.440-30 BC, although he thought that the Ephesos type was earlier.²⁵ Harrison seems to accept the dating of the type in the fifth century BC and she thinks of it as a "modification" of the

23. Willers, 1967: 80.

24. Willers, 1967: 80-81.

25. Schmidt, 1922: 45-47.

Archaistic herms since she distinguishes some features which "break the regularity of the Archaistic pattern".²⁶

Fullerton, discussing in his thesis the problem of the two types, refers to the two Delian herms of the fourth century BC which follow the Pergamon type. According to his theory which was based on these two examples, it is the Pergamon type which copies Alkamenes' original. And he argues that the Delian examples show that "the type existed in the fourth century" while its style points to a fifth century BC origin.²⁷

Brahms recently has suggested that the Pergamon type is older than the Ephesos version. The rendering of the locks and the beard points to the Severe style while the way the face is formed is closer to c.460-450 BC.²⁸ A main argument of Willers against the dating of the Pergamon type in the Classical period was the treatment of the forehead hair in corkscrew locks.²⁹ Brahms objects to this argument by suggesting that the corkscrew motif exists already from the late Archaic and early Classical periods.³⁰ She offers as examples the warrior on the Aristion stele (Athens, NM 29) (Fig.10), the fallen warrior from the West pediment of the temple of Athena-Aphaia at Aegina (Munich-Glyptothek 79), an early Classical herm from the Agora (Athens Agora Museum S 211) and Ganymede from the terracotta group in Olympia (Olympia Museum).³¹ Brahms' suggestion

26. Harrison, 1965: 130.

27. Fullerton, 1982: 25-26.

28. Brahms, 1994: 132.

29. Willers, 1967: 80-81.

30. Brahms, 1994: 129; cf. also Schmidt, 1922: 47.

31. Brahms, 1994: 130, nn.533, 534, 535, 536.

about the earlier appearance of the corkscrew motif is basically correct (cf. also ch.1, pp.40-1. List 1D Male examples VIII, 1-2; Female examples VIII, 1). Ganymede, however, from the terracotta Olympia group does not have the corkscrew locks (**Fig.17**). The treatment of his forehead hair is more like a mass of hair ending in a zig-zag pattern rather than the individual locks ending in a curled motif as seen for example on the warrior of the Aristion stele.

The problem of which type to attribute to Alkamenes is quite complicated and difficult to decide. What is of importance, however, is that both are Archaistic types that seem to derive from originals of the fifth century BC. As to the assignation of one of the two types to Alkamenes, the popularity of the Ephesos type could be thought of as indicative for its attribution.³² Another indication could be the use of the snail-shell motif on the Ephesos type, since this was a more popular and more wide-spread motif in the late Archaic and early Classical period.

Most of the scholars agree with the suggestion that the original work stood by the Propylaia of the Athenian Acropolis. Pausanias, however, gives us different information (I, 22, 8). According to him, the herm which stood on the Propylaia and the relief of the Three Graces nearby were works of Socrates. Pausanias' reference permits the following interpretations: a) if we accept Pausanias' testimony then the place where Alkamenes' work stood is unknown; b) Pausanias' text is unsafe and the herm on the Acropolis was not a work of Socrates; or c) Pausanias'

32. Praschniker, 1934: 31; Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 335.

information was incorrect and the herm was a work of Alkamenes.³³ Willers, who made the above suggestions, and the majority of other scholars agree with the third proposition.³⁴ He goes on to point out that of the numerous herms in Attica and Athens the most prominent was that of Alkamenes³⁵ which was named Propylaios, an adjective which was not that frequently used for herms.³⁶

Harrison, however, does not agree that the herm on the Acropolis was Alkamenes' work. She points out, in contrast to Willers, that the adjective Propylaios (=before the gates) could be attributed to any herm which was standing in front of a gate or a door, no matter if it was a city gate or the door of a house. So the adjective "Propylaios" does not necessarily mean that the work of Alkamenes stood by the Propylaia of the Acropolis and its original place could be somewhere else. According to her suggestion a herm could have been placed at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis even from the time of Peisistratos. This would also explain the popularity of the herms in the first decades of the fifth century BC. Harrison also argues that Pausanias was right in attributing the herm he saw on the Acropolis to a sculptor of the early Classical times. Although Alkamenes made an Archaistic herm it does not necessarily mean that this was the herm which stood on the Acropolis.³⁷ In addition she suggests that we might have an actual representation of the Propylaios Hermes on a Neo-attic relief, the so-

33. Willers, 1967: 40.

34. Willers, 1967: 40.

35. Willers, 1967: 86.

36. Willers, 1967: 40.

37. Harrison, 1965: 122-124.

called "Lanckoronski relief" now in Richmond Virginia. This relief represents Athena holding her owl on her hand and leaning against a herm which has the same hairstyle as the Kritios boy, an early Classical hairstyle. Harrison thinks that it may be this that is a representation of the Hermes Propylaios and not the Alkamenes' Hermes.³⁸

Although Harrison's suggestion is interesting and her argumentation quite convincing, I too share the opinion that Alkamenes' work was the one which decorated the entrance to the Acropolis. The number of the preserved copies implies that it was a very prominent work and suggests that it stood in a place where many people could admire it. What better place for such a prominent work than the gates of the most important sanctuary of the city?

The problem of its location is closely connected to the question of its dating. Was it made around the time of the construction of the Propylaia (437-2), where it stood, or earlier? Becatti supports an early Classical date for it and he explains the Archaistic elements of the herm as a survival of Archaic art.³⁹ The same dating is also supported by Curtius.⁴⁰ Willers prefers a later dating and he places it just after the middle of the century.⁴¹ Schuchhardt gives a similar dating, c.448 BC,⁴² and Delivorrias seems to agree with it.⁴³ A considerably later date is given by Schefold who places the herm around the time of the peace of Nikias (c.421 BC).⁴⁴

38. Harrison, 1965: 130.

39. Becatti, 1941: 34; Becatti, 1958: 256; Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 335-36.

40. Curtius, 1931: 70-71.

41. Willers, 1967: 74-75.

42. Schuchhardt, 1977: 32-33.

43. Delivorrias, 1994: 173.

44. Schefold, 1965: 159.

However the question of the dating becomes more complicated through Pausanias' attribution of the construction of the West pediment of the Olympia temple to Alkamenēs. The date of the pediment (c.460 BC) cannot be easily reconciled with the dating of the rest of Alkamenēs' works (especially the relief in Thebes which is dated c.404 BC). The distance from the Olympia pediment to the latest works of Alkamenēs is very great. Even if he started his career very early, he must still have been very young to have received such an important commission like the construction of a pediment. Barron tried to solve this problem by arguing that there were two Alkamenēs- an elder artist who created the pediment and the herm, and a younger one who was responsible for the rest of the works attributed to him.⁴⁵ Even if we were to accept Barron's suggestion for two Alkamenēs, I think we should attribute Hermes to the younger artist and not the elder one. The younger Alkamenēs is better connected with Athens and with the Acropolis in particular.

Apart from Hermes, another Archaizing work, the Hekate Epipyrgidia, was made by him. This statue was also placed on the Acropolis not very far from the Hermes. Prokne and Itys, another creation or at least dedication of Alkamenēs, also stood on the Acropolis, while other works of the same artist decorated sanctuaries of Athens, such as the cult-statue of Hephaistos in his temple above the Agora (the so-called Theseion) and the statue of Aphrodite in the gardens. The elder Alkamenēs on the other hand, supposing he existed, would be connected only

45. Barron, 1984: 199-211.

with the Olympia temple. It is more likely, perhaps, that Pausanias made a mistake in his attribution.

The dating of the herm, then, should be placed at a time which is closer to the dating of the rest of Alkamenes' works. A date around 432 BC, the year of the completion of the Propylaia, seems appropriate. Dohrn gives this dating for Hermes Propylaios arguing that the hairstyle and the type of beard, although found in Early Classical works, were not in use after 450 BC. When they appear again they are used as Archaistic features. He concludes that Hermes Propylaios should be dated after the completion of the Propylaia, that is after 432 BC.⁴⁶ Seen in this light, the Hermes would not be the continuation of the Archaic and early Classical tradition, but would constitute an innovative creation which was consciously referring back to it.

If so its Archaistic features were intended to stress its venerability and its connection with the past. Most prominent among these features was the curled hairstyle which had had a long tradition in the Archaic and early Classical period. An Archaic-looking god, who was specially made for the Propylaia, was evidently considered the most appropriate guardian of the most sacred gate of the city.

Last but not least is the question about the continuity of the herms from the Archaic to the Classical times. This is a subject which is closely connected to the problem of the origin of the Archaistic style. As mentioned above the history of the herms started in the late sixth century with Hipparchos' herms. The continuity

46. Dohrn, 1957: 50.

of the tradition in the early Classical period is well attested by both archaeological and literary sources (cf. Kimonian herms).⁴⁷ The question concerns the next decades until Alkamenes' work. Willers in his study of Hermes Propylaios and the origins of the Archaistic style collected a number of examples which seem to support the idea of the continuity of Archaistic herms.⁴⁸ However these examples are very few and it is not very certain that they really cover the gap between the Kimonian herms and Alkamenes' work.⁴⁹

As we saw in the first part of this chapter the most advanced of the examples of the curled hairstyle are dated c.460 BC. After this time there is no indication of its use until the Hermes Propylaios. The Kimonian examples could be placed in the lingering survival of the hairstyle within the third decade of the fifth century BC. Since there are uncertainties concerning the examples from the intervening period, we should seriously consider a gap in its use. If so then Alkamenes' herm would be the first work in the late fifth century BC where the curled hairstyle was used as an Archaistic feature, and it could truly be regarded as one of the first Archaistic sculptures.

That this is a reasonable hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the history of the Archaistic herms does not stop with the Hermes Propylaios. Daochos of Pharsala

47. After the victory in Eon in 476/5 BC Kimon was granted the privilege of dedicating a group of three herms in the Agora. A fragmentary pelike of the same time (Paris, Louvre Inv.C 107933) depicts a group of three herms which are probably intended to be the herms which were dedicated by Kimon. The formation of the forehead hair in a stephane-like pattern is an indication that the original herms probably had their hair rendered in rows of curls.

48. Willers, 1975: 34-43.

49. So Fullerton, 1982: 27, n.24, although at the end he seems to accept the possibility of a continuity (p.27, n.25); cf. also Harrison, 1965: 129-130. She argues for a continuity in the use of the curled hairstyle, but she is not totally convinced that the examples we have are enough to support such an interpretation.

dedicated at Delphi in 337/6 BC a group of statues. One of the figures, Sisyphos II, leans on an Archaistic herm. The herm has some similarities with the Pergamon type, especially the corkscrew locks on the forehead and the treatment of the beard. Furthermore it recalls herms of the early Severe style and masks of the fifth century BC. According to Harrison the herm was used to indicate the Gymnasium where the young Sisyphos, still an ephebe, exercised.⁵⁰

Another herm of the second half of the fourth century was dedicated by the community of the Amphiktyones in the sanctuary of Delos. The herm stood before the South Propylon of the sanctuary and it was dedicated at the time of Archon Nikomachos (341/40 BC). Although it is in a bad state of preservation its Archaistic style is obvious.⁵¹

A last reference should be made to the so-called Warocque type. The herm, which was found in Corinth, takes its name from the Warocque Collection. There are four similar copies of the type, and a further 24 variations. The forehead hair is rendered in corkscrew locks and there is a rounded beard.⁵² Willers had dated the original of the type in the fourth century BC.⁵³ Brahms agrees with the dating, placing it in the second half of the fourth century BC, and she argues that it must have been a particularly favourite type since replicas of it have been found in many parts of the Greek world.⁵⁴ Furthermore Brahms suggests that the original

50. Harrison, 1965: 136; Brahms, 1994: 132, 134.

51. Brahms, 1994: 134-5; cf. above p.80 and Fullerton, 1982: 25-26, nn.15, 16.

52. Brahms, 1994: 136-37.

53. Willers, 1967: 95.

54. Brahms, 1994: 138.

of the Warocque type was a work of Skopas. One of her arguments is an epigram (Anthologia Graeca 16, 192) which refers to Skopas as the sculptor of a herm. This attribution, however, seems very thin since there are no other references of this kind and there is no certain evidence to connect Skopas with Archaistic works (cf. below, chapter 5).

The above-mentioned examples show that the history of Archaistic herms continued into the fourth century BC whether or not they depended on Alkamenes' prototype or were independent creations.

2. Hekate Epipyrgidia

Turning now to the second of Alkamenes' works, we begin our discussion with a few remarks about Hekate's nature. From the literary sources and the representations in art the nature of Hekate appears quite complicated. She was not only the goddess of the Underworld and the ghosts but also the goddess who protected the roads and the gates and the women in their labour.⁵⁵ Her name is mentioned in a linear B tablet while she is also referred to in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (1.52).⁵⁶ In Hesiod (Theogony 411-425) Hekate is regarded as the daughter of Titans and a separate goddess from Artemis with whom she was later identified. Her cult probably originated in the area of Caria in Asia Minor and it was introduced firstly into Northern Greece, in Samothrace. From there her cult

55. Kraus, 1960: 85-98.

56. Mitropoulou, 1978: 17.

spread to the rest of Greece.⁵⁷ In Asia Minor Hekate was not the Underworld goddess of later times, she was a "Mother goddess". When her cult was introduced to Greece it took this dark character.⁵⁸ The most important centre of her cult was Aegina,⁵⁹ and there were other important centres also in Thrace and Boeotia.⁶⁰

In Aristophanes (Wasps, 804) we have the information that statues of Hekate stood in front of the doors of the houses. According to Pausanias (II, 30, 2) Alkamenes was the first who created a triple image of Hekate. This image stood on the Nike Bastion at the entrance to the Acropolis, which is why she was named "Epipyrgidia". In inscriptions of the fifth century BC Hekate was named "Propylaia" probably under the influence of Hermes Propylaios which stood nearby. On the other hand Artemis was named "Epipyrgidia".⁶¹

Alkamenes' Hekate, like the Hermes Propylaios, is known to us only from copies. Among them the nearest to the presumed original in both dating and quality is the Hekataion in the British School at Athens (inv.S 21) (Figs.22 a-b) (List 2 B II,1). The impression we get is that of an Archaistic image. The three-bodied goddess stands leaning back against a pillar, and her upper garment, a peplos, is Classical while the Archaisms are confined to the lower part of her dress. The central pleat on the skirt and the catenaries emerging from it are the Archaistic features of the goddess. Of the three figures of the Hekataion only two are preserved. These two

57. Mitropoulou, 1978: 17.

58. Brahms, 1994: 153.

59. Mitropoulou, 1978: 18.

60. Brahms, 1994: 153.

61. Kraus, 1960: 85, no.415.

figures, however, have differences in the treatment of the details. The rendering of the folds on the upper part of the peplos on figure A (Fig.22 a) is finer than on figure B (Fig.22 b). Furthermore the treatment of the catenaries on the right part of figure A presents a symmetry which is lacking on both the left side of the same figure and on figure B. In general we can say that the figure A is of better quality considering the rendering of the individual details.⁶² The Hekataion was first identified by Schmidt as a copy of the original work, and it was dated before the middle of the fifth century.⁶³ However Kraus in his study of Hekate places it c.410 BC. He gives a distance of about twenty years between the original, which is placed around 432-430 BC and its copy in the British School.⁶⁴ Harrison disagrees with the dating in the fifth century BC. She prefers a date in the first century A.D. and she argues that the Hekataion was a copy of the original of the fifth century.⁶⁵ Although Willers recognises Harrison's remarks about the quality of the work he does not accept the dating in the Roman period. He prefers the late fifth century BC and he sees in it a direct copy of the original. The surface of the garments of the figures and the texture of the garments present distinguishable differences from one figure to the other. These differences show that the Hekataion was probably copied from the original.⁶⁶ The same opinion about the dating of the Hekataion is shared by Brahms. She compares the rendering of the folds on the chest of the

62. cf. also below n.66; Brahms, 1994: 156, 157, nn.658, 659, 660; Meyer, 1989: 266 no.A 5, 270 no.A 16.

63. Schmidt, 1922: 48ff.

64. Kraus, 1960: 99.

65. Harrison, 1965: 88.

66. Willers, 1975: 49f.

Hekataion with two statues of the late fifth century BC, a statue of Demeter from Eleusis (Eleusis Museum, Inv.5076) and a statue from the Acropolis (Acropolis Museum, 1310). Furthermore she compares the rendering of the apoxygma with similar renderings on two treaty reliefs one from Eleusis of 422/21 BC and another one of 410/9 BC.⁶⁷ On a series of Hellenistic tetradrachms of Tryphon and Polycharmos we have the representation of Hekate. She is depicted in an Archaistic fashion, wearing a polos and holding torches. This representation is probably an imitation of the original since this series of coins represents important statues of Athens.⁶⁸ From the above-mentioned we infer that the original was probably shown holding torches. According to an interesting suggestion of Kraus the original could have held real torches which would make it a ritual statue.⁶⁹ In the opinion of the same scholar, however, the British School Hekataion could not have held real torches since the rendering of the figures' hands do not permit that.⁷⁰

So far we have not mentioned the head or the hairstyle of the original. The Hekataion of the British School does not preserve any of the three heads, but there are traces remaining of long strands on the shoulders of both figures. Other copies, however, do preserve the heads. The original probably had a fully Classical face, most likely a polos was worn, and long strands of hair were hanging on to her shoulders in the fashion of the Archaic korai. The hair on the forehead was parted in the middle and fastened on the sides.⁷¹

67. Brahms, 1994: 156, 157, nn.658, 659, 660; Meyer, 1989: 266 no.A 5, 270 no.A 16.

68. Kraus, 1960: 99; Willers, 1975: 48; Brahms, 1994: 158, n.664.

69. Kraus, 1960: 101.

70. Kraus, 1960: 100; Willers, 1975: 48.

71. Brahms, 1994: 158.

Another piece of information about the appearance of Alkamenes' Hekate is offered by the representation of the idol on the Xenokrateia relief (Athens, NM.2756) (Fig.23). Although Eckstein has suggested that the idol actually represents Hekate and she was holding a short torch which was painted on the relief,⁷² it seems to us more appropriate to follow the opinion of the majority, that the figure represents a personified xoanon of a fountain, while her father, the river Kephisos, is depicted in front of her. It seems, however, that the representation of the xoanon was influenced by Hekate Epipyrgidia.⁷³ Her gesture by which she brings her right arm in front of her chest was possibly, according to Simon, a gesture of Hekate.⁷⁴ According to Eckstein the elegant proportions of the body, the firm and compact modelling of the shoulders and the breasts and the conical representation of the polos all come from the original.⁷⁵

As already mentioned, Pausanias pointed out that Alkamenes was the first who created a triple-image of the goddess. Pausanias gives this information when he refers to Myron's statue of the goddess in Aegina (II, 30, 2). Myron's statue probably depicted the goddess single. Furthermore we do not have any representations of a triple Hekate before the late fifth century BC. It is also interesting that we do not have any triple representations of Hekate from the areas of Caria and Ionia which according to Kraus were the areas, Caria in particular, from where the cult of the goddess originated.⁷⁶ The tradition of triple Hekataia

72. Eckstein, 1965: 33.

73. Linfert, 1967: 153-4.

74. Simon, 1985: 276.

75. Eckstein, 1965: 30-2.

76. Kraus, 1960: 104.

which continued through the centuries probably started with Alkamenes' work. Almost all the scholars who have discussed the cult and the representations of Hekate have also discussed the question of her triple representation and its origin.

The triple form of the goddess is sometimes explained as an expression of the triple nature of the goddess (Artemis-Selene-Hekate). To others the triple-bodied goddess is one more monstrous chthonic creature, like Cerberus, the Geryones, or the Actoriones.⁷⁷ Other theories support the view that the triple form of Hekate represents the trinity of Selene-Persephone-Artemis or that of sky-earth-sea.⁷⁸ The triple form of Hekate could also be a representation of her dark side: mistress of the crossroads, the moon and the Underworld.⁷⁹ However the most plausible suggestion is that this form comes from the function of the goddess as guardian of the crossroads.⁸⁰ Fuchs suggests that triple Hekataia might have stood in triangular sanctuaries like the one which was found on a crossroad near the Athenian Agora.⁸¹ The crossroads as places where evil lies in wait is a very ancient belief. The role of the goddess as a guardian of the roads, crossroads and entrances is connected with her chthonic nature. Kraus' opinion about the triple form of Hekate is valid since he counted her triple form as deriving from the other triple creatures of Greek mythology, as mentioned above. According to him she was not a triple monstrous

77. Kraus, 1960: 104.

78. Mitropoulou, 1978: 22.

79. Brahms, 1994: 151.

80. Kraus, 1960: 95.

81. Fuchs, 1978: 35, no.17; Lalonde, 1968: 123-133.

figure such as the Geryones but the three-formed representation of a single figure.⁸²

Whatever the reason for her triple appearance was, this form was a novelty for the fifth century BC. At this point it is worth mentioning Fuchs' suggestion about the triple Hekate. According to him Alkamenes' original did not have the form we know from the later works, that of the three figures around a column. It was rather similar to Sokrates' relief of the Three Graces, with three female figures standing one next to the other. It resembled the sculptural group of Diana Nemorensis which is represented on Roman coins.⁸³ However, as Fullerton pointed out, the cult-image of Diana Nemorensis was rather a late Republican image than an ancient xoanon as Alfoeldi suggested.⁸⁴ Furthermore all the triple-form Hekataia we have from the Classical period are of the type of the British School statuette.⁸⁵ If such an important work as Hekate Epipyrgidia had been represented in a way similar to that of Diana Nemorensis, then most of the later copies should be of that form and not of the three-figured variety.

Another question concerning the form of the Hekataia is connected with their function as guardians of the entrances to houses. Aristophanes (Wasps, 804) informs us, as noted above, that Hekataia decorated the doors of the houses in Athens.⁸⁶ What was the form of these Hekataia, triple or single? We have no surviving examples of this kind of Hekataion. Kraus suggested that since

82. Kraus, 1960: 109.

83. Fuchs, 1978: 35, no.16.

84. Fullerton, 1990: 15-17; Alfoeldi, 1960.

85. Brahms, 1994: 162.

86. Kraus, 1960: 105.

Aristophanes speaks about one Hekataion then the Hekataia in front of the doors should be single.⁸⁷ Harrison having dated all the Hekataia in later times (after the fourth century BC) concluded that all the Hekataia which were placed in front of the houses were made of perishable materials.⁸⁸

The tradition which began with the Hekate of Alkamenes continued in Classical and Hellenistic times with a number of Archaistic Hekataia which can trace their origins back to Alkamenes' original. Kraus in his study of Hekate classified the surviving examples in four groups. One of his main criteria for this classification was the type of girdling.⁸⁹

To the first group of the early fourth century BC belongs a Hekataion which was found in the Athenian Agora (Agora Museum 1277) (List 2 C, 2). The Hekataion presents enough stylistic similarities with the Hekataion of the British School, although it is about one third bigger, more slender and with a deeper rendering of the folds. Furthermore the rendering of the folds recalls works such as the xoanon on the Xenokrateia relief or the xoanon from the Bassai frieze which are dated in the late fifth century BC and were influenced by the Hekate Epipyrgidia.⁹⁰ Harrison dates the Hekataion in the Roman period although she accepts its similarities with a Classical prototype and she emphasises that both the British School Hekataion and the Agora example are "reflections of the work of

87. Kraus, 1960: 105.

88. Harrison, 1965: 96.

89. Kraus, 1960: 113-128.

90. Brahms, 1994: 163-164.

Alkamenes" and support the theory of the fifth century original.⁹¹ Furthermore she attempts to prove that Kraus' classification is not valid.⁹²

One of the uses of the Archaistic Hekataia- mainly as single figures –in the Classical and Hellenistic times was as supports for other statues. We have already seen a similar use for an Archaistic herm on the Daochos dedication at Delphi. There are four examples from the late fifth and fourth centuries BC where a Hekate-like figure is used as a support. The first one is the so-called Aphrodite of Corneto which is dated to the end of the fifth century BC (Berlin, Staatliches Museums). The Hekate-figure, which stands on a base, reminds us of the British School and the Agora Hekataia.⁹³

The second example is a group from Brauron (Brauron Museum, 1170). The group is dated in the second half of the fourth century BC and it is composed of a man dressed in a short chiton and a short mantle who leans on an Archaistic Hekataion. The Hekate figure is dressed in a peplos which is girdled under the breasts. The male figure can be identified with Hermes in which case Hekate is depicted here as the goddess of the crossroads.⁹⁴

On a bronze hydria from Eretria (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv.44.11.9) is depicted an Eros who leans on a female figure. The figure, which stands on a base, like the above-mentioned example from Corneto, presents similarities with the Agora Hekataion. Furthermore she reflects the Archaic korai in the way she

91. Harrison, 1965: 87-89, 99.

92. Harrison, 1965: 88-89.

93. Brahms, 1994: 183, n.785.

94. Brahms, 1994: 184-5, n.786.

brings her right hand on to her chest and holds with the other the overfold of her peplos.⁹⁵

The last example from the fourth century is the painted representation of a female figure who leans on a golden statuette. The representation is on a crater of the Lykurgos-painter and is dated in the fourth century BC. The statuette is dressed in a peplos and she wears a polos. She brings her hand on to the chest in the fashion of similar figures.⁹⁶

Having examined the form and the tradition of Hekate we should consider the question of the Archaism of the figure. Hermes Propylaios showed the interest of Alkamenes in Archaic art and his attempt to combine contemporary art with elements from the past. Hekate followed the example of Hermes in combining Archaic and modern elements. As we have already seen the Archaisms were confined to the dress of the figures. Their faces and hairdress were probably fully Classical. Furthermore there were small differences between one figure and the other. As Fullerton rightly pointed out Alkamenes created a new Archaistic type of dress, the Archaistic peplos. The fashion he introduced influenced later creations.⁹⁷ How can we explain the Archaisms of this work? The reasons seem to be similar to those of the Hermes. According to Willers it was Alkamenes' religiosity and the historical circumstances which dictated the form of the two works. Both of the statues depict ancient gods, gods of the Fathers, as Willers

95. Brahms, 1994: 185, n.788.

96. Brahms, 1994: 185, n.789.

97. Fullerton, 1982: 32.

characterises them. To give them an Archaic appearance seemed appropriate since it stressed their links with the past of Athens and invoked in them solemnity and venerability, appropriate to the guardians of the Acropolis. Both of Alkamenes' works emphasised and marked the beginning of a new style, examples of which were making their appearance at the same period. Furthermore they both stood at the beginning of a long series of copies which extend to the Roman period.⁹⁸

To summarise the evidence we have from the fifth century BC, we can conclude that from the beginning of the fifth century until c.460 the curled hairstyle continued to be in use. This did not happen because of a feeling of Archaism but just because all these works are very close to the Archaic period of art, and maybe some of them, at least the earliest ones, were sculpted by the same artists who created the latest kouroi and korai. From the examples of this period we can observe how the older hairstyle was combined with new elements, and not only that, but also how it continued its development. The works from the temple of Zeus at Olympia are probably the latest original manifestations of it. After this the use of the hairstyle disappears and there is a chronological break of perhaps thirty years or more until the reappearance of tight rows of snail-shell curls applied to a very particular kind of sculptured herm, the Hermes Propylaios by Alkamenes. It is of some interest that while he used this hairstyle for the male herm, he chose not to do so for the similarly archaizing female Hekate Epipyrgidia.

98. Willers, 1975: 52.

LIST 2: MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 2

A. EXAMPLES OF THE CURLED HAIRSTYLE FROM THE SCULPTURE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

1. Marble statuette of a girl from Eleusis, c.490 BC. Height: 0.70 m. Eleusis Museum. Fuchs, 1983: 175, fig.178.
2. Terracotta head of Athena from Olympia, c.490-80 BC. Height: 0.224 m. Two rows of curls on her forehead. Olympia Museum. Fuchs, 1983: 550, fig.652.
3. The so-called "Apollo" from Piombino, c.480 BC. Bronze. Height: 1.15 m. Two rows of tight spiral curls on his forehead. Louvre no.2.
4. Head of a bearded votary from Cyprus, c.480 BC. One row of curls on his forehead and above that a wreath. Dartmouth College Museum and Galleries, Hanover, New Hampshire.
5. Terracotta group of Zeus and Ganymede from Olympia. c.480-70 BC. Height: 1.08 m. Zeus has three rows of curls on his forehead. Olympia Museum (Fig.17).
6. Relief with the representation of the Three Graces, the so-called "Chiaramonti relief". Marble. Height: 0.83 m. Possibly a copy of an original work by the Boeotian sculptor Socrates which stood at the entrance to the Acropolis. The original was dated c.470 BC. The second of the Three Graces has three rows of curls on her forehead. Vatican Museum.

7. The so-called "charioteer" from Motya, c.470 BC. Marble. Height: 1.81 m.
Three rows of tight spiral curls on his forehead and two rows of globules at the back of the head. Motya Museum (Fig.16 a-b).
8. Head of a votary from Tamassos, Cyprus, c.470 BC. Two rows of curls on his forehead. British Museum, C 132.
9. Sarcophagus with cover from Amathus, Cyprus, tomb 256. On the cover there is a bearded mask in relief which has two rows of spiral curls. It is dated c.470-60 BC. British Museum, C 429.
10. Metope from the pronaos of the Heraion (Temple E) at Selinus with the representation of Zeus and Hera. Limestone and marble. Height: 1.62 m. Zeus has two rows of tight spiral curls. Palermo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico.
11. Bronze Poseidon from Kreusis, Boeotia, c.460 BC. Athens NM Br.11761.
12. Nearly life-size head from Cyprus, c.460 BC. One row of curls on his forehead. British Museum, C 138.
13. Bearded type of Herakles-Reshef-Melkart from Cyprus. Two rows of curls on his forehead. British Museum, C 212.
14. Athena from the first metope from the west side of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Marble. Height of the metope: 1.60 m. She has two rows of snail-shell-curls on the forehead. Olympia.
15. Hippodamia from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, c.460 BC. Marble. Height: c.2.6 m. Olympia Museum, east pediment fig. F (Fig.18).

16. Apollo from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, c.460 BC.

Marble. Height: 3.10 m. One row of curls on his forehead. Olympia Museum, west pediment, fig.L. (Fig.19).

B. COPIES OF HERMES PROPYLAIOS

I a EPHEOSOS TYPE

1. Hermes from Ephesos. Marble. Height: 2.20 m. Izmir, Basmahane Museum, Inv.No.675 (Willers, 1967: 42-44; Brahms, 1994: 295, no.1) (Fig.20).
2. Hermes' head from Villa Hadriana. St.Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv.No.A 26 (Willers, 1967: 44-48; Brahms, 1994: 295, no. 2).
3. Hermes from the Capitoline in Rome. Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe 18, Inv.No.397 (Willers, 1967: 48-49; Brahms, 1994: 295, no. 3).
4. Hermes in the Terme Museum in Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv.No.121008 (Willers, 1967: 49-51; Brahms, 1994: 295, no. 4).
5. Hermes in the Simonetti Collection in Munich (Willers, 1967:51-56; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 5).
6. Double herms A, B from the Stadium at Athens (Willers, 1967:56-61; Brahms, 1994: 296, nos. 6, 7).
7. Double herm C from the Stadium at Athens (NM 1693) (Willers, 1967: 61; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 8).
8. Fragment from the head of herm D from the Stadium at Athens (NM 1801) (Willers, 1967: 61; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 9).

9. Herm in Munich from Athens. Glyptothek, Inv.200 (Willers, 1967: 65; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 10).
10. Herm in Berlin, formerly in the Natali collection. Pergamon Museum, Inv.104 (Willers, 1967: 66; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 11).
11. Hermes in Museo Torlonia in Rome, Nr.499 (Willers, 1967: 66; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 12).
12. Bust of a herm (A) from Ostia (Willers, 1967: 66; Brahms, 1994: 296: no. 13).
13. Bust of a herm (B) from Ostia (Willers, 1967: 67; Brahms, 1994:296, no. 14).
14. Herm in Vatican, Ingresso Ambulacro 6, Inv.104 (Willers, 1967: 68; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 15).
15. Herm in Rome, Villa Albani (Willers, 1967: 68; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 16).
16. Fragments from the head and the beard of a herm. Cyrene Museum Inv.14.265 (Willers, 1967: 68; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 17).
17. Herm in Rome, Pincio (Willers, 1967: 68; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 18).
18. Herm which belonged to the Hartwig collection in Rome (Willers, 1967: 71; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 19).
19. Double herm in Paris, Rodin Museum Inv.60 (Willers, 1967: 109; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 20).
20. Fragment of a herm in Paris, Rodin Museum Inv. 59 (Willers, 1967, 109; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 21).
21. Herm in Florence, Medici-Riccardi Palace (Willers, 1975: 34; Brahms, 1994: 296, no. 22).
22. Herm in the art market (Brahms, 1994: 297, no. 23).

I b PERGAMON TYPE

1. Hermes from Pergamon. Marble. Height: 1.19 m. Istanbul Museum, Inv.No. 1433 (Willers, 1967: 75-78; Brahms, 1994: 298, no. 1) (Fig.21).
2. Hermes in Berlin. Pergamon Museum, Inv.No.107 (Willers, 1967:78; Brahms, 1994: 298, no. 2).
3. Hermes in Rome, Giardino Barberini (Willers, 1967: 78; Brahms, 1994: 298, no. 3).
4. Fragment from the beard of a herm from Athens, Agora Museum S 1900 (Harrison, 1965: 147f, no. 162; Willers, 1967: 78; Brahms, 1994: 298-299, no. 4).
5. Herm from Ostia, in a private collection (Brahms, 1994: 299, no. 5).

B.II COPIES OF HEKATE EPIPYRGIDIA

1. Hekataion in the British School at Athens, Inv.S 21. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.33 m. (Schmidt, 1922: 48ff; Kraus, 1960: 99) (Figs.22 a-b).
2. * Hekataion in Athens, Agora S 1277 (Kraus, 1960: 120, no.1).
3. Hekataion in Athens, Agora S 1886 (Kraus, 1960: 122, no.8).
4. Hekataion in Athens, NM 3791 (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.2).
5. Hekataion in Athens, NM 116 (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.3).
6. Hekataion in Athens, NM 119 (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.5).
7. Hekataion in Athens, NM 122 (Kraus, 1960: 122, no.9).
8. Hekataion in Athens, NM 123 (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.6).

9. Hekataion in Athens, NM 12 (Kraus, 1960: 122, no.10).
10. Hekataion in Cos Museum (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.4).
11. Hekataion in Cos Museum (Kraus, 1960: 121, no.7).
12. Hekataion in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.I 334 (Kraus, 1960: 125, no.11).
13. Hekataion in St.Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv.A 512 (Kraus, 1960: 125, no.12).

* The above listed Hekataia (nos 2-13) are the examples which according to Kraus are dated in the fourth century BC. However, as mentioned above, this classification has been challenged by Harrison and there are questions as to its validity.

3. THE CURLED HAIR MOTIF IN FOURTH CENTURY BC ASIA

MINOR

In the previous two chapters we traced the development and the use of the curled hairstyle in its different forms from the seventh to the middle of the fifth century BC. As we noted, this motif is used until the middle of the fifth century and after a break of about thirty years it reappears this time as an Archaistic element on Alkamenes' Hermes Propylaios, a work probably of the last third of the fifth century BC. We turn now to consider the main question of this thesis, its use in the fourth century and its significance. The examples we have are not particularly numerous but they are of some interest because most of them come from the area of south-west Asia Minor, Caria, Lycia and their neighbourhood.

a. The first examples

Chronologically the first of the examples is a silver double head-vase of the so-called Janiform jug type (Cat.1 I A , 1). It comes from Lycia and it is dated around 400 BC. Only a portion of the vase has survived, including parts of the two heads, of the neck, which has a depiction of the judgement of Paris, and of the foot. The two heads, a male and a female, are looking in opposite directions. The female head, which is also the better preserved, has a diadem in her hair, below which there are two rows of tight snail-shell-like curls (Fig.24). The rows are parted in the middle and they curl in opposite directions. The male figure wears a Phrygian cap on his head and he has the same curled motif on his forehead. According to Strong's interpretation the two heads represent Attis and Kybele. He thinks that the fact that both have the same hairstyle is in favour of this interpretation.

Moreover in Hellenistic times only women and androgynous figures have this type of hairstyle, so we can consider Attis as one of these androgynous beings from the use of this detail on his representation.¹

This vase belongs to the category of head-vases which are known from the late sixth century BC. During the second half of the fifth century their occurrence is not that common, but their use revives around 400 BC, about the time of our vase.² We cannot be absolutely sure about the purpose of the silver vase. Strong, again, suggested a ritual use, since the two deities represented on it are associated with each other.³ Furthermore we do not even know the ancient name of this kind of head-vase. Words and phrases on inscriptions like «δικέφαλα», «φιόλη ἐν ἐλάφου προτομή» and «φιόλη ἔκτυπα ἔχουσα Περσῶν πρόσωπα», might refer to this kind of vase and not to relief-phialai as is usually thought.⁴ We have several examples from the late Archaic period of this type of vase where the figures bear on their foreheads multiple rows of small globules, which represent the curled hairstyle (cf. ch.1, List 1 F, nos: B 1-4). This suggests that on the vase under consideration we have a kind of "double Archaism", the Archaistic hairstyle and the revival of a quite common late Archaic vase-type. In addition this vase-type is connected with the curled hairstyle already known from the Archaic period, and we can also observe that the use of head-vases drops out of fashion at about the same period as the curled hairstyle and it reappears at the same time as the revival of the curled

1. Strong, 1964: 96-7.

2. Strong, 1964: 99.

3. Strong, 1964: 99.

4. Strong, 1964: 99.

motif.

Strong, in his study of the vase offered the following interpretation : "On the whole our vase is best explained as the work of an Attic craftsman in Lycia, sometime after 400 BC."⁵ Considering the Archaism of the vessel not only in its shape but also in the use of the curled motif, the question arises whether this was in fact a product of an Attic workshop and then imported to Lycia, or whether it was made in the area of Asia Minor by an Attic craftsman. The earliest example of the reappearance of the curled motif at the end of the fifth century BC comes from Attica, the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes, so a work from an Attic workshop with this motif on it, would not be any surprise. We may suppose, in any case, that it was a specific commission for a Lycian client, and like the closer iconographic parallels coming from nearby Caria in the following decades, the head-vase has the interesting possible status as a link-piece between Attica and Asia Minor.⁶

Our next examples come from the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda; they are free-standing marble statues of two male sphinxes shown in a squatting pose, which were found in the area of Andron B, or Mausolus' Andron, datable to c.360 BC. (Cat.1 I B, 1)⁷ (Figs.25 a-d, 26).

The two male sphinxes found in the area of Andron B have many Archaistic

5. Strong, 1964: 100.

6. We might have a further indication for the use of the curled hairstyle in Lycia at the beginning of the fourth century BC. The seated woman on the east pediment of the Nereid monument has her forehead hair rendered in a kind of stephane. Childs calls it a diadem (Childs, 1989: 218, pl.140, fig.1). If it is indeed a stephane then it could have been decorated with rows of curls. The attribution, however, is not very certain. My thanks to Dr.P.Higgs for drawing my attention to this particular example.

7. Hellström, 1994: 40-3; Hellström, 1997: 109-10.

features. The fillet around the head, and the diadem-like treatment of the front hair on the forehead which might suggest lines of curls are indications of Archaism. The treatment of the beard in parallel lines, the moustache, the polos worn on the head and the rendering of the wings, which strongly remind one of Archaic figures of sphinxes and Nikes, complete the impression of the appearance. Male sphinxes are an Oriental subject, and we find them protecting the palaces of the Assyrian and Persian Kings. It is through Oriental art that the motif of the monster comes to Greek art, yet as a female not a male figure, and it becomes one of the favourite decorative motifs of Daedalic and Archaic art. Their prototypes seem to be the male sphinxes which decorated the palaces at Persepolis, Susa and elsewhere. These sphinxes which have a square beard and a dentate crown, differ from those at Labraunda in having bull's ears instead of human ones. They are usually depicted in confronting pairs flanking the winged disk of Ahuramazda or an inscription. However "royal sphinxes" which are carved on Persian stamps and cylinders are depicted with human ears just like the sphinxes from Labraunda.⁸ The polos on the head of the Carian sphinxes probably comes from the female sphinxes which were used in Archaic Greece as akroteria and they probably formed a source of inspiration for the Labraunda examples. According to another opinion, that of Ghirshman, the polos of the sphinxes is connected with the polos of Zeus' cult-image at Labraunda.⁹ The stephane on the forehead might be an indication of multiple rows of curls like on the late Archaic statues. The rows could have been

8. Gunter, 1995: 25-7.

9. Gunter, 1995: 28.

painted or even have had the addition of a golden applique in the form of multiple rows of snail-shell-like curls. The long moustache also reminds one of late Archaic and Severe-style sculptures such as the Aristogeiton from the Tyrannicides Group. The beard with its rendering in parallel vertical rows recalls Assyrian and Persian figures which had their beards rendered in similar vertical parallel rows of tight curls. The rendering of the wings also echoes both Oriental and Archaic Greek works like the so-called Nike of Archermos from Delos and the Naxian sphinx from Delphi. However one of the features, the long side locks on the shoulders, is not Archaic but an Archaistic element. Almost the same treatment of the hair can be seen particularly on herms,¹⁰ and also on Archaistic male figures of the fourth century BC like the relief from Chalandri with Dionysos or the Gods from the Acropolis base (Acropolis 610) (Figs. 70, 69 a-d).¹¹ Furthermore the possible use of the sphinxes as acroterial decoration is also an Archaistic element of the decoration of the building. In the Archaic period sphinxes were frequently used as acroteria, while in Classical times the examples are limited.¹² Probably the only Classical element of the sphinxes is the mixing of Oriental, Archaic and Archaistic features; this mixture of different sculptural elements is in accordance with the combination of the Ionic and Doric orders in the architecture of Andron B and in the site in general.¹³ Furthermore the use of Persian-influenced sphinxes on the decoration of the Andron might echo a Persian element in the cult of Zeus

10. Gunter, 1995: 28.

11. Fuchs, 1959: 52-3; Zagdoun, 1989: no.63, pl.40, fig.148; Schmidt, 1922: 30; Mitchell-Havelock, 1964: 47.

12. Gunter, 1995: 28.

13. Gunter, 1995: 30.

Labraundos, according to Gunter, an influence which is attested from other areas of Asia Minor too.¹⁴

The two male sphinxes from Labraunda seem not to be the only examples of this type. At Sidon, in the sanctuary of Eschmun there have been found the fragments of three male heads (Cat.1 I B, 2). The best preserved shows a bearded face with a long moustache drooping over the beard, hair-locks hanging on to the shoulders and a kind of stephane on the forehead. These heads have been thought to belong to a series of portraits of a local ruler, probably a satrap or a Persian King, and they decorated the sanctuary. Other scholars want to identify the heads as Archaizing versions of Hermes which belonged to statues of Dionysos and served as supports. However Stucky has given a plausible interpretation when he suggested that these might be male sphinxes which were used as acroteria on the temple like the sphinxes from Labraunda, or that they decorated the intercolumniation of the entrance.¹⁵ According to Stucky the prototypes of the Sidon sphinxes were the Labraunda examples.¹⁶ On stylistic grounds it is difficult to determine precedence, but a date of c.370-50 BC for the Sidon fragments is likely to be correct.

The mixture of Oriental, Archaic and Archaistic elements suggests that it was a Greek artist who created them or somebody who knew about Greek art.

b. Female Hekatomnid portraits

The most significant group of sculptures with the curled hairstyle are the female portraits of the Hekatomnid dynasty or works related to them. Starting with the

14. Gunter, 1995: 28-29.

15. Stucky, 1988: 126.

16. Stucky, 1988: 124.

earliest chronological examples, we review first the evidence from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The so-called "Artemisia", in the British Museum (BM 1001) (Cat.1 I A, 2) (Figs.27-28), is together with the so-called "Mausolus" the most complete of the statues from the Mausoleum. Sculpted in marble, on a scale considerably over-life size she is standing frontally wearing a chiton and tightly wrapped in her himation. Of her hairstyle only the frontal part is visible under her veil. It is formed in three rows of globules while the main part of her hair is gathered in a cap (sakkos) worn on the back of her head under the veil. Examples of this type of hair motif in the form of small globules are already known from the late Archaic-early Classical period (ch.1, List 1 F, B 1-4). The statue, like the others from the Mausoleum is to be dated c.360-50 BC.¹⁷

Of three further large-scale female heads from the Mausoleum, BM 1051 is the best preserved (Cat.1 I A, 3) (Fig.29a-b).¹⁸ It is the head of a young woman or girl; her back hair is gathered in a sakkos, while the front hair is left free on the forehead forming three rows of tight spiral curls, each one of which is decorated with two curving parallel lines. The decoration of each curl with two parallel lines is a motif which suggests links with late Archaic art. Another female head from the Mausoleum (BM 1052) (Cat.1 I A, 4) (Fig.30)¹⁹ was found built into the chimney of the Imam's house close to the north wall of the peribolos. It is also colossal, like the previous one, but very badly damaged. However there are sufficient

17. Waywell, 1978: no.27; Higgs, 1997: fig.24.

18. Waywell, 1978: no.30; Higgs, 1997: fig.22.

19. Waywell, 1978: no.31; Higgs, 1997: fig.23.

indications of its hairstyle surviving to suggest that here too the back hair was gathered in a sakkos while the front was probably formed in parallel rows of snail-shell-like curls. The forehead is very much damaged but there remain traces of curls on the left side of the forehead and in front of the right ear. The third Mausoleum female head is a newly reconstituted one (BM 1053) (Cat.1 I A, 5) (Fig.31). It is partially preserved and was found by Biliotti at the SW corner of the Mausoleum site. The face fragment which is newly identified²⁰ adjoins another fragment from the Mausoleum (the back of the head of the figure, Waywell, 1978: no.32). Although it is very badly damaged and weathered, so that almost none of the facial features are preserved, there are sufficient indications by the right temple that three rows of curls ran over the forehead. The back of the head, which is preserved on the joining fragment, confirms that the back hair was gathered in a sakkos.

Apart from this group of four large female heads in marble from the Mausoleum (including the "Artemisia") there is another one, a small terracotta from the same site, which is to be dated to the same period. The head is inclined to the left, the back hair is also gathered in a cap, on the forehead she wears a stephane, and under that there is one row of curls. The head was found by Newton and now is in the British Museum (C 512 A)²¹ (Cat.1 I A, 6) (Fig.32).

A related example comes from Halicarnassus but not from the Mausoleum, although it may be connected with the Hekatomnid dynasty. It is on the gemstone

20. Higgs, 1997: 31-33.

21. Burn, 1997: 86, fig.115.

of a ring which was found in the tomb of the so-called "Carian Princess" which was excavated a few years ago. The tomb yielded important jewellery, among them a golden wreath and a seal-ring which depicts a Persian holding a sceptre, which testifies to the royal descent of the deceased and probably to some connection with the Hekatomnid dynasty. The second seal-ring which was found in the tomb represents the head of a woman (she has two Venus rings on her neck and earrings) and not Apollo as was first assumed (Cat.1 I A,7) (Fig.33). She has her back hair gathered and the front made into a kind of stephane which could be an indication for a rendering in rows of curls. The hairstyle is quite similar to that of the heads from the Mausoleum, the only difference being that the back hair of the figure on the ring is not confined in a sakkos. The reconstruction of the skull of the female skeleton, which was found in an excellent state of preservation, showed significant similarities to the marble head from Priene (BM 1151) (Cat.1 I A, 8) (Fig.34a-b) which has been identified as a portrait of Ada; in addition the dating of the tomb in the second half of the fourth century agrees roughly with Ada's dating.²² The connection, however, is not absolutely proved.

From Halicarnassus we move to Mainland Greece, to Tegea and the site of the Temple of Athena Alea, where there was found a stele relief which represents the small figures of Zeus-Stratios between Ada and Idrieus (Cat.1 I A, 9) (Fig.38). Their identities, confirmed by the inscribed names, date the relief to 351-344 BC. The stele has been traditionally interpreted as the work of a Carian artist who

22. Ozet, 1994: 88-96; Prag and Neave, 1994: 97-109; eidem, 1997: 201-18.

followed Skopas back to the Mainland after the construction of the Mausoleum and dedicated the stele in the sanctuary. However the shape of the stele points to a decree relief and not a votive one, and it has been suggested that the stele was erected by the people of Tegea to record gratitude to the Carian rulers, perhaps for a generous donation towards the cost of rebuilding the temple or for some other dedication in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.²³ The triadic composition of figures has been persuasively compared with a similar free-standing group that may have stood in the niche of Idrieus' Andron A at Labraunda.²⁴ The royal couple is depicted frontally, and although the scale is small, it can be seen that Ada has many similarities with the so-called "Artemisia" from the Mausoleum; the diadem-like treatment of her hair is probably another indication of the use of the curled hairstyle. Apart from the hairstyle the two figures share the same pose and the same rendering of the garments. This rendering of the pose and the garments is known as the "Orans type". It can be found in other representations of the fourth century too, and the beginning of this type can be established within the fourth century BC.²⁵ Idrieus is bearded with long hair, but it is not so long as on the so-called Mausolus from the Mausoleum, and it seems to have no Archaistic features; he is draped in chiton and himation and he is holding in his left hand a sceptre. Between them stands Zeus-Stratios, who is also shown frontally. He is draped

23. Waywell, 1993: 79-86, fig.1; Ridgway, 1997: 52, 73 n.74.

24. Hellström, 1990: 248-49.

25. Ashmole, 1977: 18 n.32, 19.

in chiton and himation and he is holding over his shoulder in his right hand a double axe and in his left a spear. He also, like Ada, has a stephane-like treatment of the hair, which is a possible indication for rows of curls on his forehead. On his chest there are six breasts arranged in a triangular shape, which are probably intended to signify his nature as a god who brings prosperity and wealth. From the evidence of the Tegea relief, the Zeus of Labraunda belonged to the same group of Asia Minor deities including the Artemis of Ephesos, whose chest was also decorated with multiple breasts as a symbol of fertility (for a detailed examination of this group of xoana, see below, chapter 4).

From Tegea we turn back to Asia Minor, to Priene and the Temple of Athena Polias. The Temple was built by Pytheos, the architect of the Mausoleum, and according to its famous porch inscription it was dedicated probably in 334 BC by Alexander the Great. Among the sculpture inside the cella was found a marble portrait head of a female (BM 1151) (Cat.1 I A, 8) (Fig.34a-b). The rendering of the hair is closely similar to that of Artemisia's statue, and mainly on the strength of this she has been identified as Ada, the younger sister of Artemisia. The front hair is formed into three rows of small globules, and the back hair is gathered in a sakkos.

According to Carter this head was made by a sculptor who had worked on the Mausoleum.²⁶ From its scale and style it is likely to be a portrait of a member of the Hekatomnid dynasty and since the only important female member after

26. Carter, 1983: 272-73, 274.

Artemisia's death was her younger sister Ada, this makes it possible that this head is a portrait of her. The presence of a ruler's image inside the Temple was something unusual before this time. However the practice seems to develop with the Hekatomnid dynasty and continued later in Hellenistic and Roman times. Artemisia had her statue erected in the temple of Athena at Erythrae. Ada and her husband and brother Idrieus had their statues erected at Delphi but not in the temple. Furthermore it seems possible that statues of the two couples (Mausolus-Artemisia, and Idrieus-Ada) with an image of Zeus-Stratios in between were placed in niches inside the two Andrones at Labraunda.^{26a} Ada's portrait is dated, according to Carter, c.351-40 BC (Carter, Catalogue no 85).

At this point a few remarks may be made about the technique of the rendering of the above-discussed examples. Comparing the Mausoleum heads we observe that the technique and the rendering of the curls on the so-called "Artemisia" differ from the rest of the examples. First of all the ends of the curls are convex and more pronounced than on the rest of the examples, especially BM 1051 where the surface of the curls is flat, and the same is probably the case for BM 1053 where the partially preserved and very weathered curls on the right side of the head show the same flat surface as on BM 1051. Furthermore deep drill-holes between Artemisia's curls emphasize the distinction of the rows and separate one curl from another. The use of the drill to separate the curls recalls the Archaic Greek examples and, as mentioned above, this use of the drill between the curls has been

26a. Gunter, 1995: 16-17; Hellström, 1997: 109-113.

shown to be a Greek innovation. Similar drill-holes, although shallower, can also be found on BM 1051, as for example one elongated drill-hole between the inner and the middle row close to the left ear and another immediately above it. These holes were possibly made by a running drill while those on Artemisia's forehead were executed by a common drill. On the other two examples, BM 1052 and BM 1053, there are no indications as to the use of the drill. The actual curls were probably carved with the flat chisel as the evidence of BM 1051 and Artemisia suggests. The state of preservation of the heads BM 1052 and the BM 1053 does not permit any observations about the tools which were used, but we may note that, according to Adam, most of the details on the Mausoleum heads were rendered with the chisel.²⁷

The use of the flat chisel for the carving of the curls can be confirmed by the so-called Ada's head from Priene (BM 1151), where the faceted surface of the globules was clearly made by this chisel. Furthermore there are no indications of drill-holes between the globules. The rough, angular surface of the globules and the traces of the red pigment on them are probably indications that this particular rendering was intended for the application of a golden toupée, or *tettix* (to be discussed further below). This interpretation is supported by the way that the globules spring straight from the sakkos, and there is no rendering of curls as on the Mausoleum examples. A shallow channel which runs around the forehead of the face separates the globules from the forehead. The same feature can also be

27. Adam, 1966: 27, 30, 32.

found on Artemisia's forehead.

The group of female heads discussed above has a common link and that is the Hekatomnid family. Two of the works are supposed to be portraits of Artemisia (BM 1001) and Ada (BM 1151), while the rest of them have a direct link with the dynasty, like the colossal heads from Mausoleum and the ring portrait from the tomb of the "Carian Princess". The type of hairstyle they wear has the back hair gathered usually in a sakkos while the front is formed into multiple rows of snail-shell-like curls on the forehead. However in two instances, as just noted, the hair on the forehead is formed in rows of small globules. These two works are the so-called "Artemisia" from the Mausoleum and the portrait of "Ada" from the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene. The globules might be an indication that the curled pattern was painted on or gilded. The possibility that the globules were covered in gold reminds us of Hauser's opinion about the *tettix*. In 1906 Hauser in his article "Tettix" supported the idea that this kind of hairstyle on the forehead of Ada's portrait was actually a golden toupée which covered the forehead hair and this golden toupée was none other than the *tettix* which Thucydides mentions as the hairstyle of earlier generations (I, 6).²⁸ Carter adopted Hauser's opinion and argued also that Ada's hairstyle is actually a *tettix*. In support of this traces of colour and gold have survived on Ada's head. Apart from this evidence he also cites examples on vases from Kertsch. A phiale, now in St.Petersburg (st.1791, c.350 BC), depicts nuptial scenes (from the second day of the wedding), in which one of the female

28. Hauser, 1906: 75-120.

companions has on her forehead a kind of diadem which he thinks is a representation of a *tettix*.²⁹ The connection between Caria and the area of Kertsch is also attested by the similarities between the so-called Mausolus from the Mausoleum and a colossal portrait statue from Kertsch, now in the Hermitage in St.Petersburg (208). It is likely to be a portrait of a fourth century king from that area, either Leukon (389/8-349/8) or one of his sons, Pairisades (349/8-310/9) or Spartokos (he ruled jointly with Pairisades until his death in 342). They are portrayed together on a decree relief dated 347/6 from Piraeus, now in NM Athens (NM 1471). They show similarities with the seated statue (Waywell, 1978: no.33) from the Mausoleum, and also have beards and long hair like the so-called Mausolus.³⁰

Another example from the same area is a golden *stlengis* (a kind of tiara) which was found in the tomb in the Great Bliznitza (in the area of the Black Sea) (Hermitage BB 30) and can probably give us a picture of how the *tettix* looked. The *stlengis* is decorated with a pattern of wavy hair and it is dated c.340-330 BC. Similar *stlengides* have been found in the same area where this type of jewellery seems to have been especially favoured.³¹ One of them is formed in five rows of spiral curls which recall the above-mentioned example from the Kertsch vase, as well as the Hekatomnid parallels.³²

29. Hauser, 1906: 76, fig.24; Schefold, 1930: 15-16, pl.14.

30. Waywell, 1978: 63; Meyer, 1989: 290 A 88; Lawton, 1995: 98-99 no.35.

31. Williams and Ogden, 1994: 185 no.119.

32. Hauser, 1906: 76-77, figs.25-26.

Furthermore there is a reference to a *tettix* in one of the fourth century inventories from the Asklepieion at Athens. In the Inventory III which is dated between 341/0-329/8 BC a certain Theodoros dedicated among other things "a wooden *tettix* which has been gilded". In her commentary Aleshire accepts the meaning of a *tettix* as a gilded ornament for the hair.³³

Returning to the images of Artemisia and Ada, the possibility of their having worn a *tettix* would accord with their political importance. They were the most important female members of their dynasty, as shown by the fact that both continued to reign after the deaths of their husband-brothers, and so to decorate their portraits with a golden *tettix*, a piece of jewellery which was most probably worn when they were alive, does not seem extravagant. The wearing of a *tettix* would constitute another Archaistic element, in addition to the use of the hairstyle itself. According to Thucydides, in his day the *tettix* was worn by the older generations. The revival of the use of a type of jewellery which belongs to the late Archaic period and the adoption of a hairstyle of the same period seems to suggest an Archaistic awareness and fashion within the court of the Hekatomnid dynasty. The two leading ladies may have used it, and other works like the heads from the Mausoleum, suggest the fashion was taken up by the other high ranking ladies of the court.³⁴ But why should the Hekatomnid family and its associates be so interested in reviving an Archaic hairstyle or wearing an Archaic jewelled headdress? It has been suggested that the Hekatomnid dynasty and Mausolus in

33. Aleshire, 1989: 128 lines 20-21, 137 line 2, 142-3, 145, 154 lines 20-21.

34. Higgs, 1997: 32.

particular tried to emphasise the links with their past and their ancestors, in order to strengthen their political control. Indications of this attempt could be seen in the building programme of Mausoleum, in which statues of the ancestors may have adorned the building.³⁵ Theodektes' tragedy, *Mausolus*, which won the agon Artemisia organized for Mausolus after his death, may have included a reference to a mythological Mausolus son of Apollo. An Apolline head from the Mausoleum might also be an indication of an analogous genealogy in the decorative programme.³⁶ According to Crampa "the family was related to the Pixodarus, son of Mausolus, from Kindya near Bargylia, who was a prominent leader among the Carians in 498/7 at the time of the Ionian Revolt, and who had married a daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia".³⁷ A male link therefore, seems clearly traceable to a prominent family of the early fifth century BC. On the female side, which is where the Archaism is manifest, it is surely not chance that Artemisia bears the name of the famous Halicarnassian queen of the Persian wars although there is no evidence of a direct blood-line. This earlier Artemisia's image was famously represented on the Persian Stoa at Sparta, a colonnade that celebrated the Greek victory at Plataea in 479 BC (Vitr.I.1.6; Paus.III.11.1).³⁸ A Roman Artemis-herm which was found in Sparta and has its origins in the fourth century BC, wears three rows of tight corkscrew locks on the forehead while long strands hang on her shoulders (Fig.39). The Archaistic rendering of the hair as well as the place

35. Hornblower, 1982: 223-74.

36. Hornblower, 1982: 282-83.

37. Crampa, 1972: 2.

38. Plommer, 1979: 100; Waywell and Wilkes, 1994: 413-14, 431.

of its discovery makes it possible that it resembles the statue of Artemisia which stood on the Persian Stoa.³⁹

Can we see then the curled hairstyle as an attempt by the Carian dynasty to find a link with its past, and especially that of the early fifth century BC? Such an interpretation can, theoretically, be supported by the fact that the way this hairstyle is rendered resembles the practice of the late sixth-early fifth centuries BC. The similarities between the hairstyle of the fourth century and that of the late sixth century BC are, chiefly, the use of multiple rows of curls on the forehead, a characteristic of the late Archaic hairstyle.

c. Other works from the neighbourhood of Caria

Several works of sculpture attest the use of the curled hair-style and other Archaistic features in areas in the vicinity of Caria. A relief which was found in the Bouleuterion at Iasos represents a man reclining on a couch. He is dressed in a sleeved chiton and himation. Two long side-locks are hanging on to his shoulders, and he also wears a long moustache (Fig.40). The relief, which is dated in the fourth century BC, probably represents the Hero-founder of Iasos and it was possibly a dedication of the Hekatomnids.⁴⁰ Although he does not have the curled

39. Tod and Wace, 1906: no.403; cf. also Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 218 n.114, fig.187, where she associates the herm with Scopas.

40. Angiolillo, 1997: 107.

hairstyle on the forehead, the side-locks and the moustache recall those of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes which has the same Archaistic features (cf. chapter 2, above).

A second example of a female head was found, like the above-discussed Ada, inside the temple of Athena Polias in Priene. It is the bust of a young girl, now in the British Museum (BM 1153) (Cat.1 I A, 10) (Fig.35). The girl has her hair gathered in a sakkos, in the same fashion as Ada, while her forehead hair is rendered in three rows of curls. The bust of the girl belongs both stylistically and chronologically to the same group as the above-discussed heads from the Mausoleum, the so-called Ada and the next two examples from the temple of Demeter at Priene.⁴¹ The girl was probably a young servant of the goddess, possibly of noble origin, like the young Arrhephoroi or the Arktoi.⁴²

Two further examples of female heads come, like the so-called Ada (above), from the city of Priene, but were found in the temple of Demeter (Cat.1 I A, 11, 12). These life-size marble heads, which are now in Berlin (Inv.nos.1535 and 1536), are likewise to be dated to the second half of the fourth century BC. The rendering of the back hair on both is the same as on our previous example, and the front hair of one (no.1535) is dressed in four rows of snail-shell-like curls, while the other (no. 1536) has three rows of spiral curls (Figs.36 a-b, 37 a-b).⁴³

41. Carter, 1983; no.86, 276-278, pls.XL c-e, XLVII b.

42. Carter, 1983: 278.

43. Blümel, 1966: 86, 87, nos.104, 105, figs.138-9, 140-1.

Hekatomnid influence in Priene is not actually attested by any literary or other kind of evidence.⁴⁴ However the architect of the temple of Athena Polias, Pytheos, provides a link with the Hekatomnid family, and the portrait of Ada, if accepted, would strengthen the suggestion. In any case Ada's portrait, placed in such a prominent location as the interior of the temple, would most likely have provided the prototype for the two young female heads.

From the neighbouring area of Lycia comes a relief from a grave monument depicting a psychostasia scene (Cat.1 I B, 3) (Fig. 41). The relief, which is to be dated to the middle of the fourth century shows a dead man standing naked between the two judges of the Underworld, Radamanthys and Aiakos. The man's hair has two rows of curls on his forehead.⁴⁵

Lycia came under Hekatomnid influence after Perikles of Limyra's demise, probably in the 360s. The trilingual inscription from Xanthos (c.330s') firmly attests Hekatomnid control of Lycia, which was imposed through garrisons and oligarchies.⁴⁶ Under these circumstances the spread of Hekatomnid forms through specific features like the curled hairstyle would not be implausible. However in the case of Lycia we have another example of the use of the motif earlier than any Hekatomnid control, and that is the silver double-head-vase with the representation of Attis and Kybele (discussed above), which is dated at the beginning of the fourth century BC. So does the relief under discussion represent either the survival or

44. Hornblower, 1982: 110-11.

45. Borchhardt, 1969/70: 189-91, pl.36.1.

46. Hornblower, 1982: 119-22.

maybe the early revival of an Archaic tradition in that area, or is there some other specific meaning? It is noteworthy in this example that in contrast to Hekatomnid practice at Halicarnassus the motif is worn by a male figure. The only male examples we have so far are the sphinxes from Sidon and Labraunda, the silver double head-vase from Lycia with the representation of Attis, and this one. The male examples are very few, and it is hard to find any convincing link. It remains open as to what is their precise link with the Carian Hekatomnid examples.

A female statue of the later fourth century from the island of Cos, where it was found in the Odeion of the city, represents a different conception of the curled motif (Cat.1 I A, 13) (Fig. 42). The back hair is gathered in a sakkos, like on Ada's portrait, while the front hair is left free on the forehead. The front hair is parted in the middle, so as to form two masses of hair on each side of the parting. These two masses are rendered into three rows of spiral curls, one beside the other and not one above the other as in other examples.⁴⁷ What we have here can perhaps best be interpreted as the typical hairstyle of the fourth century BC, combined with the Archaistic curled motif.

Whether there was influence, direct or indirect, from Halicarnassus on this statue remains open. At this time there were close links between Cos and the Hekatomnid dynasty. It is probable that Cos did not join the Second Athenian Confederacy since its name does not appear in the Charter of the Confederacy and

47. Kabus-Preisshofen, 1989: no.51.

in the lists of the rebels in the literary sources other than in Diodorus. Coans probably helped Samian exiles, and the synoikism of Cos in the same year (366 BC) was probably a measure against Athenian intervention. At the same time Cos probably asked for help from Mausolus. There are Coan series of coins which represent Mausolus as Herakles. Mausolus' portrait on the coins presents similarities with the statue from the Mausoleum in the British Museum. Cos was surely under Hekatomnid control until 345 BC (Dem.V.25) and after that probably remained oligarchic and garrisoned until the arrival of Alexander the Great.⁴⁸

It must be noted that the examples we have from the neighbourhood of Caria are limited, one or two from each area. Is this because of the lack of finds, or was the use of the motif limited, and perhaps restricted to the upper classes of these areas? The two young girls from the temple of Demeter at Priene could have belonged to aristocratic families of that city and for that reason could have worn a headdress which was distinctive of the ruling family of nearby Halicarnassus. The tomb from Lycia could also have belonged to a well established member of the area, although here it is a naked man who is represented and there may be some specific funerary meaning. The female statue from Cos was found in the Odeion; if that was its original place of display it would certainly have belonged to an important female member of the Coan society. The examples are too few to draw definite conclusions. There may be a link with the members of the aristocracy, conceivably even with Hekatomnid connections. Alternatively they may be

48. Hornblower, 1982: 132-35.

random examples of a liking for an Archaic-looking hairstyle, of the kind found also in Attica.

d. Attic grave-stelae with representations of old women with curled hairstyles

An interesting sequence of comparative fourth century BC examples is provided by a group of Attic grave-stelae. The common element of all of them is the depiction of old women who have on their foreheads one or more rows of curls.

The first is a deep naiskos stele with a pediment from the Kerameikos, now in the Kerameikos Museum (Cat.1 II A, 1). It depicts two women, whose names are inscribed, Demetria and Pamphile (Fig. 43). Demetria stands in slightly three-quarter view and she wears a sleeved chiton and has drawn her himation over the back of her head. Her hair is arranged in a single row of tight curls on her forehead with corkscrew locks above. Pamphile who seems to be younger sits on a throne. Probably Pamphile is the deceased and the fact that she is sitting on a throne is an indication of her social status.⁴⁹ The drapery and the pose of Demetria suggest a date of c.350 BC, close to that of the female portraits from the Mausoleum.

The second example is a stele crowned by pediment, now in the National Museum in Athens (Athens NM 714); it was found probably in Piraeus (Cat.1 II A, 2). A woman is seated on a chair wearing chiton and himation which is draped over her shoulders. On her forehead there is one row of curls which continues

49. Clairmont, 1993: vol.II, 593-95, no.2464.

around her head. She was shaking hands with another figure standing on the left, probably female, only a part of which is preserved. Another figure, a young man is standing behind and to the right of the seated figure. The deceased was probably the female figure who was standing to the left.⁵⁰

Another stele with pediment, also from Piraeus, is now in the National Museum in Athens (Athens NM 1137) (Cat.1 II A, 3). It bears the inscription Sostrate daughter of Theoros from the Deme of Aigialia. Sostrate is depicted seated shaking hands with a bearded man, probably her husband. In the background there is another female figure in three-quarter view with a row of curls on her forehead.⁵¹

The stele of Arkeso in the Barracco Museum in Rome (inv.147) is a further example (Cat.1 II A, 4). The stele, which has pediment and acroteria, is very fragmentary in preservation. A bearded man stands on the right looking at a seated female figure, Arkeso, now missing. In the centre there is the representation of an old woman in frontal view, holding the edge of her mantle in her right hand. She has one row of curls over her forehead which continues around her head. Arkeso was probably the deceased, the man was her husband and the old woman a relative, perhaps her mother.⁵²

Another example is the stele of Krinylla in Philadelphia (MS 5470, University of Pennsylvania Museum) (Cat.1 II A, 5). The stele represents Krinylla, her husband Naukles and her son Naukrates. Krinylla who is seated is shaking hands with her

50. Clairmont, 1993: vol.III, 67, no.3170.

51. Clairmont, 1993: vol.III, 233-34, no.3371b.

52. Clairmont, 1993: vol.III, 281, no 3389b.

son who is probably the deceased. She wears her hair short with one row of large snail-shell curls on her forehead.⁵³

Our final example consists of two fragments of the same stele which were found in the Kerameikos near the church of Hagia Triada and are now in the National Museum in Athens (Athens, NM 768+1174) (Cat.1 II A, 6) (Fig. 44). An elderly man stands in three-quarter view to the right and he is shaking hands with a woman seated on a chair. Between them and in the background there is an old woman who has her mantle tightly wrapped around her body. Only part of her upper torso and her head are preserved. On her forehead she has at least three rows of curled hair. The deceased is probably the seated woman.⁵⁴

This group of elderly female figures on Attic grave stelae with the curled hairstyle motif represents a distinct cluster of Archaistic examples, unique in Attic funerary art. Pfisterer-Hass who has studied the representation of old or elderly women in ancient iconography pointed out that the main features of an old woman on an Attic grave-stele were the curls on the forehead, the wrinkles and frown on her face and the tightly wrapped mantle around her body.⁵⁵ It remains debatable, however, as to why they chose this kind of hair-style to characterise an old or elderly woman, like in the case of Pamphile. Was the use of an Archaic motif in this way symbolical, intended to impart more venerability to these women and also to stress their old age, or was it realistic, indicating that this was how some at least old

53. Ridgway, 1997: 169, pl.41.

54. Clairmont, 1993: vol.III, 400-1; Conze, 1893: vol.I, 183, no.861, pl.146.

55. Pfisterer-Hass, 1990: 179-196.

women wore their hair, like today when we see elderly women dressed up in the fashion of previous decades?

We have now traced the development of the curled hair motif from its earliest appearance in Greek art, in the seventh century BC, to the late fourth century BC. During these centuries the motif took different forms and was combined with a variety of hairstyles. However the conception was the same, one or more rows of spiral curls-sometimes broad, sometimes very small and tight-on the forehead. A motif which remained in continuous use from the seventh century until the middle of the fifth century BC reappeared after a short break as an Archaistic element. During this period the focus for the hairstyle was the mainland of Greece, and it was Attica specifically where the Archaistic version of Alkamenes was invented.

In the first half of the fourth century there is a significant development as the main geographical location for examples of the curled hairstyle changed to Asia Minor, principally Caria, and the nearby areas of Lycia and Cos. That the Hekatomnid dynasty of Halicarnassus played a prime role in this usage is beyond doubt, from their adoption of the triple curled hair motif as an identifying headdress for their female members, and from their control of or influence over Labraunda, Lycia and Cos, where other examples occur. This Hekatomnid-inspired embracing of limited Archaism seems to mark a significant point of renewal, for afterwards the hairstyle becomes gradually more frequent and wider-ranging in appearance in Hellenistic and Roman times. This probably reflects also the increased general tendency towards Archaism of these later times and that our motif is just one of several Archaistic features of the period. Looking through the

art of the fourth century BC and the fashion of the hairstyles during this period we can see many examples of the rendering of the front hair in a kind of stephane which is often quite high.

It is interesting that in fourth century usage the hairstyle is mainly found used on female figures. The male examples are very limited, in contrast to the Archaic and early Classical periods where the male examples are numerous and predominate. The few later male examples have a common link as we have already seen, and that is their connection with Lycia.

Moreover the examples of female figures wearing a sakkos suggest that the front hair was also gathered under a cover making a kind of stephane over the forehead. A golden toupee worn in the fashion of the curled hairstyle and covering the front hair, may have been a revival of what Thucydides described as a *tettix*. The Hekatomnid dynasty, as already noted, seems to play the main role in the revival and establishment of the motif. By using it they may have tried to emphasise their link with the past dynasty at Halicarnassus. This hairstyle, which was undoubtedly a feature of the ladies of the court, was used on occasion in other areas in the neighbourhood of Caria. But in any case, either as a way of propaganda or with a specific meaning, the use of the curled motif in the fourth century BC and especially in Caria and its neighbourhood is surely attested.

It remains to consider whether the influence for this adoption of an Archaistic emblematic hairstyle by a non-Greek, if Hellenic-inclined, dynasty came from Greece or from Persia or both. As far as the female hairstyle is concerned, it seems likely that the inspiration was from late Archaic Greece where the curled

motif was regularly used for women, whereas it never was in Persian art. The Archaistic male sphinxes from Labraunda, on the other hand, and their related examples from Sidon, do seem much more Achaemenid Persian in detail and in symbolism, even though one or two features could betoken Alkamenean influence. The overall picture reveals a mix of origins, as often in Hekatomnid art, with Greek predominance.

CATALOGUE 1: MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 3

A. FEMALE EXAMPLES

I ASIA MINOR

1. JANIFORM SILVER HEAD-VASE

**BRITISH MUSEUM (DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN
ANTIQUITIES 1962.12-12.1) (FIG.24)**

Bibliography: Strong, D, 1964. "A Greek silver head-vase". In *BMQ* (1964); 95-109, pls. XXVI-XXVIII.

Description: A fragmentary Janiform silver head-vase. The heads are set on a hollow cylindrical foot splayed out at the bottom. On top of the heads there is an ovoid cylindrical neck which also splays out. The two heads are partially preserved. The one, a head with a diadem, is preserved to the bottom of the nose. From the other, which wears a Phrygian cap, there survives only the headgear and part of the hair. The neck of the vase is also partially preserved. The fragments of the foot that have survived give the profile of the foot. The neck of the vase was decorated with a figured scene and the rim with an ovolo moulding. The rim of the foot was also moulded. The vase originally had two handles, traces of which have been preserved between the two heads and on the neck.

Decoration: Starting from the neck, the vase is decorated with the scene of the "Judgment of Paris". The figures of Aphrodite, Athena and Paris are partially

preserved. The two goddesses sit on a rocky ground. Athena is dressed in a peplos with girdled overfold. The border of the peplos is decorated with gilded dots and zig-zags. With her right hand she grasps the spear near its top. Her head is missing, and only part of the crest of her helmet is preserved. Aphrodite wears a sleeveless chiton, which leaves her right breast uncovered. The lower part of her body is covered by a himation, which is also brought up to cover her head. She also wears a necklace and bracelets on both of her arms. Part of her face has survived as well as a few of her tresses on her left side.

Paris was depicted on the right of the two goddesses, turning towards them. The lower part of his body has been preserved. He is dressed in Anatolian trousers, decorated with a chequered pattern. One of his hounds stood nearby. Of the other two figures only small fragments have been preserved. Part of a winged cap suggests the presence of Hermes while a small piece of drapery is an indication of Hera.

Inscriptions in Lycian identified the figures of the scene, while the Greek alphabet was used for the inscriptions.

As mentioned above, the two heads that form the main body of the vase are partially preserved. The less fragmentary is the female head decorated with a diadem, which is adorned with large and small rosettes alternately, between which there are small crosses, while its edges are also decorated by a beaded pattern. Beyond the diadem are two rows of tight snail-shell curls. They are parted in the middle and curl in opposite directions. The facial features are narrow and there are large, close set eyes and a narrow, straight nose. The eyes were inlaid, traces

have survived in the eye-sockets. A depression on the right ear, which is also preserved, might suggest the use of earrings.

The second head wears the Phrygian cap, which is decorated with rosettes, and has a wavy line around the edge. Beneath the cap are represented two rows of snail-shell curls as on the other head.

The question arises as to the identification of the two heads. The suggestion of Paris and Helen or Paris and Aphrodite is possible since the scene with the "Judgement of Paris" is depicted on the neck. It is also possible that the two heads were Attis and Cybele. According to Strong the curled hairstyle of the figure with the Phrygian cap is an indication for its identification as Attis since it is a characteristic of androgynous figures like Attis. This is, however, questionable.

Dating: The vase was found in a hoard in Egypt (Tell-el-Maskhuta), but its origin must be in Lycia as the inscriptions on the neck prove. The style of the vase and its similarities with a rhyton from Tarentum, now in Trieste, point to an Attic craftsman who made the vessel for a Lycian client around 400 BC, a time when the head-vases came into fashion again after a decline during the fifth century BC.

Technical details: The metal used for the manufacture of the vase was an alloy of silver and copper with a few traces of lead and iron. The vase was first cast and the details were worked by hammering and chasing. As already mentioned, some of the details of the vase were gilded with a very thin leaf of gold (0,005 m.) while the eyes of the figures were inlaid.

2. THE SO-CALLED ARTEMISIA FROM THE MAUSOLEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM 1001 (FIGS. 27-28)

Bibliography: Waywell, G.B, 1978. *The Free-Standing Sculpture of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum*. London: 103-105, no.27.

Description: Standing, colossal, female statue (2, 67 m in height). It was found in the deposit North of the North peribolos wall. Made of a single block of white marble, the body is broken into two parts and the head into nine. Much of the face is missing. The right forearm, part of the left forearm, the tip of the left foot, parts of the drapery, the upper edges of the veil and part of the himation which falls below the left arm are also broken.

The figure stands erect with the weight on the left leg and the right at ease and with the heel slightly raised from the ground. The upper arms were held close to the body while the lower arms were extended with the left held a bit higher than the right. The head is held upright and the gaze is straight.

The figure was dressed in a sleeved chiton and himation. The himation wraps the body from the left side over the right leg and then passes over the left shoulder and arm from where it falls to the ground. The upper edge of the himation was brought over the head as a veil. The chiton is visible on the chest and around the lower legs. The himation has a varied arrangement of deep and shallow, crisp folds.

Although the face is damaged, there is preserved the greater part of the right eye and eyebrow, some of the left eye and part of the forehead. The hair of the figure

was gathered in a sakkos apart from the forehead curls, which are arranged in three superimposed rows of globular curls. These are much weathered, but seem to have had no incised detailing of hairs or strands. The globules however are separated by carefully made drill holes, now weathered.

Identification: The treatment of the body with the heavy build, the protruding stomach and the sagging breasts speak for a mature woman. The colossal size of the figure points to an important person, a member of the Hekatomnid family. It has been identified as Artemisia, but this attribution is not certain. The figure type finds a close parallel in the representation of Ada on the Ada, Zeus and Idrieus relief from Tegea.

3. FEMALE HEAD FROM THE MAUSOLEUM

BM 1051 (FIG. 29 a-b)

Bibliography: Waywell, G.B, 1978. *The Free-Standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum.* London: 106-107, no.30.

Description: Female colossal head (0, 48 m in height). It was found in the field immediately North of the peribolos wall and near the NW corner of the Mausoleum Quadrangle. It is made of white marble. The head is broken off at the base of the neck and the break runs from right to left. The chin, mouth, nose, right eye, right and central part of the forehead curls are damaged. However it is the best preserved head from the Mausoleum.

The angle of the neck shows that the head was twisted to its left and tilted. The face is oval with a broad forehead and wide eyes deeply set; the cheeks are fleshy and full, the nose straight and broad. The mouth is small with fleshy lips, slightly parted. The chin is rounded. The head was not veiled.

The hair is gathered in a sakkos apart from the forehead hair, which is arranged in three superimposed rows of curls. Each curl has a flattened surface rendered with incision in two spirals. The diameter of each curl is 2.2 cm. Shallow drill-holes and drill-grooves separate some of the curls, for example between the inner and middle rows above the left ear.

4. FEMALE HEAD FROM THE MAUSOLEUM

BM 1052 (FIG. 30)

Bibliography: Waywell, G.B, 1978. *The Free-Standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum*. London: 107-108, no.31.

Description: Female, colossal head (0, 58 m in height). It was found built into the chimney of Imam's house North of the North peribolos wall. It is made of white marble, which was blackened by fire. The head is badly weathered and damaged. The facial features can be detected only through the depressions or protrusions left on it. The form of the face was oval. The hair was gathered in a sakkos as in the previous examples and the forehead hair was arranged into rows of curls. Traces of the curls are visible on the left side of the forehead and above the right ear. The head was veiled, like BM 1001, but unlike BM 1051 and 1053.

5. FEMALE HEAD FROM THE MAUSOLEUM

BM 1053 (FIG. 31)

Bibliography: Higgs, P, 1997. "A newly found fragment of free-standing sculpture from the Mausoleum". In *Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese. BMP*. Eds. I.Jenkins, G.B.Waywell: 30-34. London.
Waywell, G.B, 1978. *The Free-Standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnasus in the British Museum*. London: 108, no.32.

Description: Female, colossal head (0, 35 m in height). It is composed of two fragments, both found in Hagi Nalban's property on the site of the Mausoleum, one by Newton in 1857, the other by Biliotti in 1865. One fragment is from the face and front part of the head, while the other preserves the back of the head, which wears a sakkos. The face is very damaged and disfigured. The original surface has been preserved only in a few areas such as the inner corners of the eyes, the lower part of the right cheek and under the chin. The outlines of the eyes are visible and the tear ducts are preserved. Traces of red pigment have survived on the tear duct of the right eye. As mentioned above the back of the head is covered by a sakkos. This suggests that the arrangement of the hair was similar to the previously discussed heads from the Mausoleum. The back hair was gathered in a sakkos while the forehead hair was arranged into possibly three rows of snail-shell curls. Traces of the curls are best preserved on the right side, from which it can be deduced that there were at least two rows of curls and in all probability there would

have been a third row since the rest of the Mausoleum heads have three rows.

There is no indication that the head was veiled.

6. THE RING FROM THE PRINCESS TOMB AT HALICARNASSUS

BODRUM MUSEUM (FIG. 33)

Bibliography: Ozet, M.A, 1994. "The tomb of a noble woman from the Hekatomnid period". In *Hekatomnid Caria and the Ionian Renaissance*. Ed. J.Isager: 88-97. Odense.
 Prag, A.J.N.W and Neave R.A.H, 1994. "Who is the Carian princess?" In *Hekatomnid Caria and the Ionian Renaissance*. Ed. J.Isager: 97-109. Odense.

Agate ring. The gem is ellipsoidal and in the form of a scarab. Its dimensions are: 0.015m x 0.001 m. It was found inside the tomb of the so-called Carian princess at Halicarnassus. It is decorated with a female head in profile view. The head had been initially interpreted as Apollo, but the Venus rings on her neck prove that she is a woman. The hair is gathered at the back of her head while the front hair is arranged in a roll. Although there are no curls indicated, the arrangement of the hair in this way would be suitable for the addition of a *tettix* by the wearer. The head is possibly a portrait of a female member of the Hekatomnid dynasty, quite probably of the deceased. An identification as Ada remains speculative.

7. TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM THE AREA OF THE MAUSOLEUM

BM C 151 (FIG. 32)

Bibliography: Burn, L, 1997. "Sculpture in terracotta from Cnidus and Halicarnassus". In *Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese*. *BMP*. Eds. I.Jenkins and G.B.Waywell: 84-90. London.

Female terracotta head from Halicarnassus. It was found by Newton between 1856 and 1858 in a field east of the Mausoleum. The head presents similarities with the Mausoleum heads in the modelling of the facial features and in the rendering of the hair. As in the Mausoleum examples the hair is gathered in a sakkos apart from the hair over the forehead which is arranged into two rows of small and tight curls.

8. FEMALE PORTRAIT HEAD FROM PRIENE

BM 1151 (FIG. 34 a-b)

Bibliography: Carter, J.C, 1983. *The Sculptures of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*. London; no.85.

Prag, A.J.N.W. and Neave, A.R.H, 1997. *Making Faces*. London: 201-218.

Description: Colossal, female head (0, 447 m in height), made of marble, possibly Parian. It was found in the cella of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. The head has been recomposed from two large and four small fragments. Parts still missing include the left eye and brow (filled in with plaster), the tip of the nose, the earlobes and some of the ear-helix. There is damage to the area of the right eye, parts of the hair and parts of the neck. The head was carved separately and inserted in the body. The structure of the face is fleshy and a bit masculine with regular proportions (the distances between the facial features are almost equal). The eyes are wide, almond shaped and very deeply set. The bridge of the nose is flat with sharp edges on either side. The mouth is small with the lower lip thicker than the upper. The chin of the face is round, double and pronounced. The neck is shown with Venus rings. The hair of the head is gathered in a sakkos, which presents great similarities to those of the colossal female heads from the Mausoleum. But here traces of the painted decoration of lozenges and polka dots are visible on the sakkos, while remains of brown colour are also preserved on the hair. The most prominent feature of the hairstyle are the three rows of globules which adorn the forehead of the face. The globules are unevenly faceted and have

traces of red paint, suggesting that they were once gilded. This points to the *tettix*, the jewellery which according to Hauser consisted of rows of curls.

Five fragments of drapery (Carter, Catalogue, nos.126-130) possibly belonged to the body of the BM 1151 and present great similarities to fragments from the Mausoleum (e.g.Mausolus' drapery, BM 1000). The similarities to the Mausoleum figures justify, according to Carter, the attribution of the head to a sculptor who worked on the Mausoleum, although the scale is slightly smaller.

Identification: The findspot, inside the temple, and the curled hairstyle and cap have suggested the head is the portrait of an important female member of the Hekatomnid family. Carter has argued persuasively for Ada, the younger sister of Artemisia who was in power at Halicarnassus in 351-40 BC, and again 333-23 BC with the support of Alexander the Great. Prag has supported this proposal, and has drawn comparisons with the female skeleton from the rich burial found in Bodrum.

9. THE TEGEA RELIEF

BM 1914.7-14.1 (FIG. 38)

Bibliography: Waywell, G.B, 1993. "The Ada, Zeus and Idrieus relief from Tegea in the British Museum". In *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*. Ed. W.Coulson and O.Palagia: 79-86. Oxford.
 Ridgway, B.S, 1997. *Fourth century styles in Greek sculpture*. London: 52, 73 n.74.

The upper part of a thick stele with pedimental top and acroteria. It has been suggested that it may have had a decree inscribed on the lower part, the contents of which would have been illustrated by the inset relief above.

The partially preserved relief represents Zeus of Labraunda framed by the dynastic couple of Caria, Ada and Idrieus. The names of the figures are inscribed above. The frontally standing Zeus holds a double axe and a spear and his chest is covered by a characteristic net-like garment with six breasts attached to it. Idrieus is bearded with longish hair and dressed in a tight undergarment and a himation. Ada is represented in the standing Orans type and she closely resembles the so-called Artemisia from the Mausoleum (BM 1001). She is dressed in a chiton and a long himation, her hair is gathered at the back and only the front hair is arranged in a kind of stephane. Although the rendering of the front hair is not detailed, the arrangement in a stephane might suggest the use of a tettix as in the case of the Labraunda sphinxes (cf. below section B 1) and the female portrait on the ring from the tomb of the "Carian princess"(Cat.A I, 7)

10. HEAD OF A GIRL FROM THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA POLIAS AT PRIENE BM 1153 (FIG. 35)

Bibliography: Carter, J.C, 1983. *The Sculptures of the sancuary of Athena Polias at Priene*. London; no.86.

Description: Bust of girl. Height: 28, 3 cm. White marble probably of island origin. It was probably found inside the temple. The bust is reconstructed from four fragments. Parts of the face which are missing are the ridge and the tip of the nose, part of the chin and part of the forehead. Some of the damaged parts have been filled in with plaster. The head was originally made in two pieces, which were joined at the division between the cap and the hair where there is a slight anathyrosis. The two parts were joined by a square dowel 2 cm in size. The face is round and full especially on the cheeks where no bone structure is discerned, a rendering which is appropriate for a young girl. The mouth is small with a pronounced "Cupid's bow" and full lips, especially the lower one. Underneath there is a small hollow. The chin is also full and double and a bit asymmetrical, another appropriate feature for a young girl. As in the previously discussed examples the hair of the girl was gathered in a sakkos apart from the forehead hair which was arranged in three rows of tight curls, lying flat against the skull.

Identification: There have been different suggestions as to the dating of the head, fourth century, Hellenistic or even Neronian. The stylistic comparisons, however, place the bust in the fourth century BC. It belongs to the same group as the above

discussed BM 1001, 1051-3 from the Mausoleum, BM 1151 from Priene and the two heads also from Priene now in Berlin (cf. below).

The head probably belonged to the statue of a young girl who served in the temple of Athena Polias. If so she may have been a member of a noble family of the area which would account for her service in the temple (cf. similar examples from Attica – Arrhephoroi, Arktoi), and for the dedication of her statue in the temple. The use of the curled hairstyle might imply a noble origin or even a link with the dynasty at Halicarnassus.

11. FEMALE HEAD FROM THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER AT PRIENE

BERLIN Inv.No.1535 (FIG. 36 a-b)

Bibliography: Blümel, C, 1966. *Die klassisch griechische Skulpturen der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin: no. 1535

Description: Female head, under-life-size (height: 0,265 m.). It was found in the NE corner of the temple of Demeter at Priene. The face is oval and long with a broad forehead. The eyes are almond-shaped with heavy eyelids. The ridge of the eyebrows is sharp and the nose long and straight. The bridge of the nose is flat with sharp edges, the upper lip is thinner than the lower and more emphasized. The corners of the mouth turn upward. There is a hollow between the lower lip and the chin. The hair is gathered at the back and it is bound with a broad ribbon. The forehead hair is arranged in four rows of spiral curls. The type and style can be compared with the heads from the Mausoleum, especially with BM 1051. It can be dated in the third quarter of the fourth century BC.

12. FEMALE HEAD FROM THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER AT PRIENE

BERLIN Inv.No.1536 (FIG. 37 a-b)

Bibliography: Blümel, C, 1966. *Die klassisch Griechische Skulpturen der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin: no. 1536

Description: Female head, under-life-size (height: 12,5 cm) made of white marble. It was found in the NE corner of the cella of the temple of Demeter at Priene. The face is round and fleshy. The forehead is broad and the ridge of the eyebrows sharp. The eyes are almond shaped with thick eyelids and are deeply set. The nose is broken apart from the upper part where it meets the forehead. The bridge of the nose is flat with sharp edges. The hair of the figure is gathered in a sakkos. The forehead hair is rendered in three rows of snail-shell-curls in the fashion of the above discussed heads. The style and date are the same as for the other head from the same sanctuary, Berlin 1535 (above, Catalogue no.11).

13. FEMALE STATUE FROM COS

COS MUSEUM No.13 (FIG. 42)

Bibliography: Kabus – Preisshofen, R, 1989. *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos*. In *AM Beiheft 14*. Berlin: no.51.

Identification: Female standing statue dressed in chiton and himation, made of local marble. It is over-life-size, measuring 2.06 m in height and was found in the Odeion at Cos. The statue was found broken into two pieces which were rejoined. There is further damage to the first three fingers of the left hand, part of the hair over the right ear, part of the lower right arm and the hand, some of the drapery folds, as well as part of the himation which hung free on the left side of the figure. Parts of the himation which covers the head, a piece from the left side of the upper part of the head are also damaged, while parts of the shoulders, the right arm and some folds exhibit corrosion. The woman stands upright and extends her right leg. Her left hand, covered by the himation, is bent at the elbow and it seems that it was also brought towards the chest. Of her drapery the chiton is visible on the chest and over the lower part of the legs. It is arranged in many thin and crisp folds. The himation is wrapped tightly round the body, and is drawn over the head as a veil. It covers the right shoulder and upper arm, loops around the right elbow and hangs free over the left forearm. The head, which is tilted slightly to the left, is small in comparison to the rest of the body. The neck is long and strong, and the face has a triangular shape which is emphasized by the arrangement of the forehead curls. The eyes are small and almond shaped, beneath narrow but sharp eyebrows.

The nose is straight with a flat ridge while the mouth is wide with upturned corners. The “Cupid’s bow” is emphasized and the lower lip turns outwards more than the upper one. It is separated from the chin by a hollow. The chin is round, fleshy and emphasized.

The hair is gathered in a sakkos, the ribbons of which are visible on top of her head. The forehead hair is arranged in three rows of curls on either side of a middle parting. The rows are flat on the forehead and become wider near the temples, giving a triangular arrangement to the forehead hair.

Identification: The stylistic comparison of the statue presents similarities with fourth century examples, being particularly similar to the woman from Herculaneum, the Athena of Vescovoli type, or the Muses from the Mantinea Base. These comparisons place the statue in the late fourth century BC. Furthermore the unusual treatment of the forehead curls seems to derive from the hairstyle of the female members of the Hekatomnid family. This type of hairstyle, which gives an Archaistic appearance to the statue, orientates us to the identification of the statue. Its similarity with the hairstyle of the female members of the Hekatomnid family may suggest that the statue represents a member of Coan society. The colossal size of the figure might also support its identification as an important Coan personage. According to Kabus – Preisshofen the statue represents a priestess.

II. THE GRAVE-STELAE FROM ATTICA

1. DEMETRIA AND PAMPHILE

Athens, Kerameikos (Fig. 43)

Bibliography: Clairmont C.W, 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: vol.II, 593-595, no.2464.

Description: A naiskos stele, the dimensions of which are: H: 1, 29 m, W: 1, 235 m. The two women Demetria and Pamphile are placed in a deep naiskos which is not fully preserved. The pediment and the upper left and right part of the back slab are missing while the lateral walls are restored. Parts of the geison, which projected over the architrave, are preserved. The names of the two women were inscribed on the architrave. The stele is made of Pentelic marble.

The standing woman is Demetria. Her body is shown in three-quarter view to the left. She is dressed in two chitons, one sleeved and one sleeveless, and a himation which envelops the body leaving only her chest free. The himation is drawn over her head while Demetria holds its edge with her left hand at shoulder height. Her right arm, bent at the elbow, is placed over her waist. Her hair is arranged into two rows of curls (one row of snail-shell and one row of corkscrew curls). The woman also wears sandals on her feet.

The second woman, Pamphile, sits on a throne the arms of which end in a ram's head supported by a female winged sphinx. Part of the arm of the throne and the left back leg are broken. Pamphile is also shown in three-quarter view and she is dressed in the same way as Demetria, in sleeved and sleeveless chiton and

himation. She has also drawn her himation over the head while the rest of it tightly wraps her body leaving only the chest free. Like Demetria she also grasps the edge of her himation with her right hand at shoulder height. Her left arm rests on her lap. Her himation and the part of the chiton, which is visible, are arranged in rich and crisp folds with sharp edges. Her left leg crosses over her right and both of her sandalled feet rest on a foot-stool diagonally placed while her left foot is broken. Her hair is parted in the middle, in the fashion of the time, and it is combed back, giving a triangular shape in the forehead.

The arrangement of the forehead hair on Demetria is probably an indication that she is the elder of the two. However the relation between the two women has not been clarified yet. It has been suggested that they might be sisters.

2. ATHENS NM 714

Bibliography: Clairmont, C.W, 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland; vol. III, 67 no.3.170(v)

Description: Grave stele the dimensions of which are: H: 1. 24 m, W: 0. 70 m. The stele has antae, of which only one is preserved, carrying a fragmentary pediment. The plinth of the stele is decorated by a double moulding. Dowels on top of the pediment show there were once acroteria. According to Clairmont the stele might have an inscription on the architrave. The stele was found before 1838 in Piraeus. It is made of Pentelic marble.

Of the three figures originally depicted, only two are preserved. From the third figure just a part of the arm and hand has survived. The central figure is a seated woman facing to the right. She is dressed in chiton and himation which covers her shoulders, her arms, the back and the lower body. She is extending her right arm in a hand-shake gesture while her left arm is placed on her lap. The hair of the woman, which is rendered in great detail, is arranged in a row of corkscrew locks which adorns her forehead and continues around her head. Each lock, which is made of three turns, is divided from the next by a groove. Behind the woman stands a young man dressed in a himation which leaves his chest uncovered. With his left hand he grasps his himation at shoulder height. The young man also faces to the right. The third figure who stood on the other side of the stele was facing to the left, and the surviving hand and the arm show she was shaking hands with the

seated woman. The part of the drapery which is preserved on the forearm proves that this figure was female. She was probably the deceased, possibly the daughter of the older seated woman and sister of the young man.

3. ATHENS NM 1137

Bibliography: Clairmont, C.W, 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland; vol. III, 233 no.3.371 b (v).

Description: The dimensions of the stele are: H: 0. 35 m, W: 0. 85 m. The stele has antae, pediment and acroteria although damaged. It was found in 1836/7 in the so-called “Polyandrion” north of the Piraeus. It is made of Pentelic marble.

The inscription on the architrave carries the name of the deceased, the name of her father and his deme: Sostrate daughter of Theoros from Aigialia.

Only three heads have been preserved. The first one is the head of a bearded man depicted in profile. On the background is the head of a woman in three-quarter view. Her hair is short and rendered in curls which extend to the forehead. Sostrate was probably seated facing to the right. She was probably shaking hands with her husband, the bearded man.

4. ROME, MUSEO BARRACCO INV.147

Bibliography: Clairmont, C.W, 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: vol. III, 281, no.3398 b.
 Kabus-Preisshofen, R, 1989. *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos*. In *AM*, Beiheft 14. Berlin: 86, nn. 305, 306, 307.

Description: The dimensions of the stele are: H: 0. 60 m, W: 0. 76 m. It probably comes from Attica. The stele is very fragmentary. It has a low pediment and acroteria, now damaged. The central acroterion depicts a siren, the wings and the feet of which were painted. The pediment is separated from the architrave by a recessed moulding. On the right hand side one name is preserved: Arkeso. The stele is framed by antae. It is made of Pentelic marble.

Of the three figures which were originally depicted on the stele only two are partially preserved. An elderly bearded man is represented in three-quarter view to the right. He is dressed in a mantle which covers both of his shoulders and arms. The right arm and hand was extended either in a hand-shake gesture with a seated woman (Arkeso) or else laid on a stick which supported the elderly man. Between the two was depicted one more female figure. Apart from the head, which is depicted frontally and slightly inclined to the right, her right hand and her right forearm are also preserved. Her forearm was raised while she was grasping the edge of her mantle at shoulder height. The furrows on her forehead may indicate her grief while her hair, arranged in a row of curls around her head may be suggestive of her age or her status as a slave. According to Kabus-Preisshofen the women represented on the Attic grave-stelae wearing this particular hairstyle were

slaves. The presence, however, of Demetria on the Kerameikos grave-stele, who wears the same hairstyle, speaks against this suggestion.

5. STELE OF KRINYLLA AND HER FAMILY

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, MS 5470

Bibliography: Clairmont, C, W. 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: vol.III, 321-13 no.3.409.
Ridgway, B.S, 1997. *Fourth century Styles in Greek sculpture*. London: 169.

Description: The dimensions of the stele are: H: 1.54 m, W: 0. 98 m. The provenance of the stele is unknown. The stele originally had seven antefixes which are fragmentarily preserved. A recessed moulding marks the transition to the architrave. The names of the figures are inscribed on the architrave: Krinylla daughter of Stratios, Naukles son of Naukrates and Naukrates son of Naukles. The stele is framed by antae. It was made of Pentelic marble.

A woman is seated on a chair. She is depicted in three-quarter view to the right, with the head in profile. She is dressed in a sleeved and sleeveless chiton and her body is wrapped in a himation that leaves part of her chest and her right arm free. She is shaking hands with the man who stands on the right side of the stele. With her left hand she supports the right arm of the man in a gesture that shows affection. Her feet rest on a foot-stool. The short hair of the woman is arranged in a row of curls on her forehead. The sagging cheeks and the stooping shoulders of the woman, as well as the rendering of her hair, are probably an indication of her elderly age. The bearded man on the right side of the stele is depicted in three-quarter view to the left. He is wearing a himation which covers his left shoulder,

leaving his right arm and hand free. His left hand rests on the upper part of his thigh while, with his right, he is shaking hands with the seated woman. Between them stands a man. His torso is almost frontally depicted and his head is in three-quarter view. He is dressed in a himation which leaves his chest free and part of his right hand. His hands are folded on his chest, and he was probably holding a stick to support himself.

The man on the right hand side is probably the deceased who bids farewell to his parents.

6. ATHENS NM 768+1174 (Fig. 44)

Bibliography: Clairmont, C.W, 1993. *Classical Attic tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: vol.III, 400-401.

Description: The dimensions of the stele are: H: 1.47 m, W: 0.99 m. This was originally a naiskos stele but the pediment and the lateral walls are not preserved. Three figures are depicted, one male and two females. The heads of two figures are missing while the head of the third one, a woman who stands in the background, was added recently. The fragment no. 768 was found in 1861 in the area of the church of Hagia Triada in the Kerameikos. The fragment no. 1174 was found in the same area in the year 1886. The stele is made of Pentelic marble.

An elderly bearded man dressed in a himation stands in three-quarter view to the right. His himation leaves his chest bare. His left hand rests on his chest while with his right he is shaking hands with the seated woman. She is depicted in profile, seated on a chair, and she is dressed in two chitons, one sleeved and one sleeveless, and a himation which covers her shoulders, the lower part of her body and part of the chair. Her legs are crossed and her feet rest on a foot-stool. In the background between the two figures is a frontally depicted elderly woman who turns slightly to the right. Her himation envelops her body. Her right arm, raised and bent at the elbow, rests on her chest. The hair of the woman is rendered in at least three rows of tight snail-shell curls. The furrows on her forehead may be indicative either of her sorrow or of her age. Her pose, the rendering of the curls

and her furrows recall the elderly figure on the Arkeso stele in the Baracco Museum.

B. MALE EXAMPLES

1. SPHINXES FROM LABRAUNDA

No.1: 1953: C 57. BODRUM MUSEUM (FIG. 25 a-d)

No.2: 1960: 98. BODRUM MUSEUM (FIG. 26)

Bibliography: Gunter, A, 1995. *Marble sculpture. Labraunda II:5*. Stockholm.
Hellström, P, 1997. "Sculpture from Labraunda". In *Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese. BMP*. Eds. I.Jenkins, G.B.Waywell: 109-113. London.

No.1: Found South of Andron B at Labraunda in 1953.

Description: A seated male sphinx. Height 1, 08 m. The parts which are missing are the two front legs, the back paws, part of the tail and the left wing. The head is crowned by a polos. The hair is gathered in a chignon at the back of the head. Two long strands hang on to the shoulders. On the forehead there is a stephane and between the stephane and the polos there is a fillet. The ears of the figure are human in contrast to the usual appearance of this type of mixed creature where the ears are bovine. The face is round and fleshy, the large eyes are deeply set in their sockets, and the bridge of the nose is narrow and straight. A long moustache, similar to those found on Severe Style figures (cf.Aristogeiton), springs from under the nose and hangs down on to the beard, which is rendered in nine parallel, horizontal rows. The feathers in the preserved right wing are rendered in nineteen parallel curved lines, the surface between the lines being narrower at the base and wider at the top. A small vertical hole at the top of the wing might be an indication of repair in antiquity. Similar indications (two half-clamps) exist on the

side of the now missing left wing. On the left side and below the missing wing there are indications of four ribs.

No.2: Found SE of Andron B at Labraunda in 1960.

Description: Male, bearded head, presumably from a sphinx. Present height: 0,33 m. The head is badly weathered and some parts are missing, such as the upper part of the face (left eye, forehead), the greater part of the stephane and the polos. Part of the nose and the lower part of the beard are also missing. The preserved features show great similarity with the above-discussed No.1. We see the same fleshy, round face with the square beard, the large, deeply set eyes, the straight nose, the thick lips and the same severe-like moustache. The beard is also rendered in parallel, horizontal rows.

Discussion: The function of the two sphinxes was probably as acroteria on Mausolus' Andron (B). Their inspiration was from the East where the male sphinxes were very common and a royal symbol, while in Greece the rule was for female ones. The sphinxes have a distinct Archaistic rendering apparent in the treatment of the beard and the moustache, the wings, the side locks and the polos. As mentioned already each one wears a stephane above the forehead. Although it does not present any traces of decoration we might suggest that this element is an indication for the use of the curled hairstyle. The rows of spiral curls could have been applied by paint on the stephane.

As already noted, the Labraunda sphinxes show general inspiration from the East, with close parallels from Persia. The human ears and the chignon were thought as Greek elements, but Achaemenid seals show similar sphinxes with human ears and chignons. On the other hand the polos and the long locks hanging on the shoulders are Greek and particularly Archaic Greek features. Furthermore the possible use of the sphinxes as acroteria recalls another Archaic Greek practice. As in the case of the Andron where there is a mixture of Ionic and Doric elements, in the same way the sphinxes which decorated the building present a mixture of Greek and Persian features.

2. SPHINXES FROM SIDON

Inv.Nos. E 588, E 1649, E 1785.

Bibliography: Stucky, R, 1988. "Sidon-Labraunda-Halikarnassos". In *Kanon: Festschrift E.Berger. Ant.K. Beiheft 15*: 119-126. Basel.
 Gunter, A, 1995. *Marble Sculpture: Labraunda II*: 5. Stockholm.
 Hellström, P, 1997. "Sculpture from Labraunda". In *Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese. BMP*. Eds. I.Jenkins and G.B.Waywell: 109-113. London.

Description: Three fragmentary male heads. The first one, which is the best preserved of the three, presents features similar to the sphinxes of Labraunda. The greater part of the head and the beard is missing. What is preserved is part of the face. Most of the stephane is broken as well as a part of the left side of the forehead. The left eye is fragmentarily preserved. The eyes are large and the nose straight and long. A long moustache frames the small mouth with its fleshy lips. Two of the parallel, horizontal rows of the beard survive on the cheeks. From the second head there is preserved part of the right side of the face and the head, the nose and a small part of the left eye. From the third head has survived the upper part of the face (eyes-forehead) and some of the stephane, which adorned the top of the forehead. Both of them present the same facial features as the first described.

Discussion: The three heads were found in the ruins of the temple of Eshmun at Sidon. The fragmentary state of the heads makes their identification difficult. Suggestions have been offered as to their interpretation as portraits of Persian

Suggestions have been offered as to their interpretation as portraits of Persian Kings and satraps or supports of other statues. However Stucky was the first who observed the similarity between the Sidon examples and the Labraunda sphinxes. He interpreted the Sidon heads as male sphinxes, which decorated the temple either as acroteria, or placed between the columns. As mentioned above, two of the heads (nos.1 and 3) preserve part of the stephane similar to one of the Labraunda examples. It is possible that the stephane was adorned with rows of curls represented in paint.

3. PSYCHOSTASIA SCENE FROM LIMYRA

From a sarcophagus in Limyra (Lycia) (Fig. 41)

Bibliography: Borchhardt, J, 1969/70. "Ein Totengericht in Lykien". In *IstMitt* 19/20; 189-222.
 Bruns-Özgan, Chr., 1987. *Lykische Grabreliefs des 5 und 4 Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* In *IstMitt Beiheft 33*. Tübingen.

Description of the sarcophagus: Dimensions: Length, 2.83 m; Width, 1.90 m; Height, 1.28 m. The surface is slightly weathered. The sarcophagus has pediments, hyposorion and base. The pediments and the three sides of the hyposorion are decorated. The pediments have two antithetical griffins each. On the North, long side of the hyposorion, is represented a chariot and charioteer with another figure standing in front of the horses. On the South, long side, there is the representation of a seated woman and a man who holds an oinochoe with his right hand while his left is raised in a gesture of prayer. On the small, West, side there is the psychostasia scene. The upper edge of the hyposorion is decorated with an Ionic kymation. There are inscriptions on the East side, and over the relief on the West side.

Description of the scene: On the left and right side of the scene there are two seated, bearded men. Both men face outwards. They are dressed in himatia which cover the lower parts of their bodies leaving their torsos naked. Both of them have long hair. Between them stands a young, beardless, naked man also facing outwards. The man has his forehead hair arranged in a row of snail-shell-

curls. The two bearded men probably are Aiakos and Radamanthys, the two judges of the underworld, and the naked youth the soul of the deceased.

4. XOANA AND THEIR REPRESENTATIONS IN THE ART OF IONIA AND CARIA

Asia Minor was an area rich in cult-images of various deities. Many representations of these deities have survived, the vast majority of which come from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Asia Minor was the home of important cult-figures like Artemis of Ephesos, Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, Artemis of Sardis, Hera of Samos and Zeus of Labraunda. The meaning of the word xoanon as the cult-image of a deity is also connected with Asia Minor. As Donohue has pointed out in her study of xoana and the origins of Greek sculpture,¹ the word xoanon in the Classical period had the meaning of a luxurious object made of precious materials such as ivory, gold, and precious stones, and which came from the East. The meaning of the small, primitive, wooden cult image was applied later. Probably the first time the word was used with its later meaning was in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (5, 3, 12) (c.370 BC) to describe a copy made for his Peloponnesian estate of the Artemis of Ephesos and the Archaic temple.² Pausanias gives us the same information (V, 6, 4-7). According to this Xenophon, after returning from the expedition in Asia Minor and being exiled by the Athenians, dedicated a temple to Artemis on his estate at Skillous, near Olympia. The temple and the cult-image in it were copies of the temple and the cult-statue of Artemis of Ephesos, although on a smaller scale. This dedication was to thank the goddess who protected him

1. Donohue, 1988: 29, 30.

2. Donohue, 1988: 29, 30, 31-32.

during the expedition and her priests who took care of his belongings which he had entrusted to them during his absence on campaign.³

Many of the cult images of Asia Minor preserved their Archaic appearance. In this way they were a kind of living survival of Archaic art into later times. However the greatest problem in interpretation they present to us is that the majority of representations we have of them come from Hellenistic and Roman times. As a result we cannot be sure if this form was the original one, or if it was an Archaistic creation of later centuries. This problem will be the subject of this chapter. Our guides will be the statues of Artemis of Ephesos and Hera of Samos. They were the most important cult-statues of the area of Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean, and the statue of Artemis in particular was very influential on other statues in Asia Minor. After examining their form and their development we can draw some conclusions which can be applied to the rest of the xoana of the area. One of our main bibliographic sources will be Fleischer's work on Artemis of Ephesos and other related deities from Asia Minor and Syria, and it is acknowledged that his study underlies this chapter, although the material is re-evaluated to cast light on the approach to Archaistic representations under consideration in this study.⁴

There were at least two statues of Artemis at Ephesos, the ancient xoanon, and

3. In this case the original work (i.e. the cult-image of Artemis), as we shall see below, and its copy were works made of precious materials and decorated luxuriously, so the original meaning of the word "xoanon" can be applied to both of them. Furthermore there seems to be a coincidence between the time of the changing of the meaning of the word "xoanon" and the time of Xenophon's dedication. Accordingly we might suggest that the later work of art had an influence on the lexical significance. Donohue, 1988: 29, 30, 31-32.

4. Fleischer, 1973.

the sixth century BC cult-image of the goddess which was made by the Athenian sculptor Endoios. The xoanon should be dated at least as far back as Geometric times, since there are indications on the site of the Artemision of the existence of temples and buildings related to the cult from Geometric times (cf. peripteros temple of the eighth century BC).⁵ The ancient sources do not give us any information about the form either of the ancient xoanon or of Endoios' work. The only representations we have are from much later times, the Hellenistic and especially the Roman period. How close were these representations to the originals, and which one of the two cult-images do they copy? What did the original look like in the fourth century BC, the period under consideration? We shall try to formulate an answer to these questions by examining what we already know about Artemis and her cult-image. The first impression given by the numerous Roman copies is that we are dealing with a type of statue which is far removed from the usual iconographic representations of the goddess. It is noteworthy however that representations of Artemis Orthia from her sanctuary at Sparta show an unusual form of the goddess there too. Artemis is shown draped in a tightly wrapped garment and often wearing a polos. The aim of these representations was probably to emphasise that they were replications of the xoanon of Artemis.⁶

According to the evidence of copies of the Roman period the form of the Artemis statue at Ephesos was as follows: the goddess stood with her feet close together,

5. Bammer, 1990: 137-160.

6. Ross, 1929: 403.

and her arms tightly held to the body with the hands protruding outwards. She was wearing a sleeved chiton and her chest was covered by a number of decorative features such as a crescent-like motif, the lunula, a wreath of flowers, the representation of the zodiac, and most importantly, rows of appendages of a breast-like pattern. Her lower body was enclosed in a metallic cover, the so-called Ependytes, which was also decorated with busts of animals and mythological features (Fig.48). Her head was adorned with a high polos hat, which in the time of Trajan and Hadrian took the form of a temple (Fig.46).⁷ From under the polos a veil hung down on to her back while on her shoulders she wore a crescent-like pattern, the Nimbus, which had a decoration similar to that of the Ependytes. Woollen bands were hanging from her wrists down to the floor. The bands terminated in triple ends as the statue of the "Beautiful Artemis" in Selçuk shows (Fleischer, E 46) (Cat.2, 2) (Fig.48). Although elements such as the Ependytes, the rows of breasts and the polos were common to all copies, other features such as the zodiac or the lunula were not.

According to ancient sources the cult-statue was made of wood. They refer to a number of timbers from which the cult-image could have been made, such as cypress, vinewood and ebony.⁸ The last suggestion which is supported by Pliny (NH.16.213), seems quite possible since on a few Roman copies the naked parts of the body (i.e. face, hands and feet) were made with a darker material, a dark kind of

7. Fleischer, 1973: 117.

8. Fleischer, 1973: 121.

marble or bronze (Cat.2,3) (Fig.47). Furthermore Meiggs pointed out a well-established practice of using ebony for cult-statues in the Archaic period.⁹ Pausanias informs us about four Archaic cult-images made from ebony in Mainland Greece: a) a cult-statue of Artemis in the sanctuary of Artemis Lemnatis on the road from Tegea to Laconia (Paus.VIII, 53, 11). The sanctuary perhaps was located on the modern site of Aspela;¹⁰ b) a statue of Ajax in his temple in Salamis (Paus.I, 35, 3); c) in a sanctuary of Apollo near Megara there were three ebony statues of the god (Paus.I, 42, 5); and d) at Argos, in the Dioscuri temple, stood the ebony statues of Castor and Pollux with their families and their horses (Paus.II, 22, 5).¹¹

There could however be another explanation for the dark colour of the naked parts of the goddess. During Antiquity they probably used to anoint the xoanon with oil, either for preservation of the wood or for veneration of the cult-image.¹² The frequent use of oil over the centuries might have given it this dark colour.

As mentioned above we know that there were at least two ancient statues of the goddess. However some scholars support the idea that apart from the ancient xoanon and Endoios' work there was a third one as well, a creation of the early Hellenistic period. This last, it is argued, was the prototype of the Hellenistic and Roman copies.¹³ If the Archaic cult-statue was lost in the fire of 356 BC there would have been need for an early Hellenistic replacement.

9. Meiggs, 1983: 310-311, 312.

10. Papahatzis, 1974-1982: 408, n.2.

11. Meiggs, 1983: 310-311.

12. Fleischer, 1973: 121, 402.

13. Fleischer, 1973: 124, no.7; Bammer and Muss, 1996: 72.

Although Pliny (NH 16, 213) states clearly that the cult-statue remained unchanged, we cannot exclude the possibility that it was burned in the great fire of 356 BC which destroyed the temple. In that case a new cult-image would have been made for the new late Classical temple to replace the Archaic cult-image. Since the Ephesians took great care that the new temple should have many similarities in both ground plan and design to its predecessor, it is possible that they took the same care for the cult-image too. In that case we would have the same kind of Archaism as in the temple (cf. below, chapter 6). The new cult-image would have resembled the lost one in order to emphasise the continuity of the cult and the importance of the sanctuary.

How close were the Roman copies to the original? We have already seen that they usually differ in details. We need to review whether the original carried all the decorative elements we have on the later copies. Starting our examination with the polos hat, this is an element which probably did exist on the Archaic original and it seems to have existed on its replacement too. A similar polos also decorated the head of the Daedalic wooden statuette of Hera from Samos. As we have already seen, at Ephesos in the time of Trajan it took the form of a temple.¹⁴

A crescent-like motif which was sometimes accompanied by a disk pattern decorated her chest, an attribute which in Roman times was adorned with the zodiac. The wreath of flowers, also on the chest of the goddess, is another probable early element. The most distinctive features of the chest were the rows

14. Fleischer, 1973: 403.

of breasts. This motif should have existed on the fourth century BC statue and perhaps even on the Archaic one as we shall see further on. The same features appear on a representation of Zeus of Labraunda of the fourth century BC. This is on a relief which was found at Tegea near the ruins of the temple of Athena Alea datable from its inscribed names to 351-344 BC (BM 1914.7-14.1) (see above, chapter 3) (List 3 F, 1) (Fig.38). The relief represents Zeus of Labraunda, the patron god of the Hekatomnid family who was worshipped near Mylasa, the ancient capital of Caria, standing between Ada and Idrieus. Zeus is represented wearing a chiton and an himation, holding a double axe in his right hand and a spear in his left. On his chest he wears rows of breast-like protrusions. The rows are arranged so as to form a triangle. There has been a lot of discussion about this motif, if they are real breasts, in which case we should think of the image as an androgynous type of Zeus, or if it is a decorative motif with some particular meaning. The latter seems possible. The body of the xoanon may have been covered by a net-like garment of the same type as the cover of the Delphic omphalos. The artificial breasts would then have been attached to this garment.¹⁵

The triangular shape of the breast-motif on the Tegea relief reminds us of a Hellenistic representation of the Artemis of Ephesos where the breasts are arranged in a triangle (Cat.2, 1) (Fig.45). This representation is among the first to survive of the cult image of the goddess. Having the example of the Tegea relief before us, we can suppose that in the fourth century BC cult-image of Artemis the breasts

15. Fleischer, 1973: 317 ff, 320 ff.

were arranged in a triangle conforming to an existing pattern at that time. Furthermore there is some suggestion that the breast motif may already have existed in the Archaic period or even earlier.

Bammer, in his excavation of the eighth century peripteros at Ephesos, discovered in the interior of the temple a large number of appendages. These tiny objects came from the area of the base inside the temple and, according to Bammer, they were part of the decoration of the cult-image. Many of these pendants have a "drop-like" shape which is reminiscent of the later "breast-like" motif. In these pendants, then, we might perhaps recognise an early predecessor of the "breast" motif.¹⁶

Furthermore we should look for comparative evidence on a coin of the early fifth century BC from the area of Ainos in Thrace. The coin represents the local xoanon of Hermes, which is depicted with its body wrapped up in a long garment, with no arms visible at all. Vertical rows of round protruding motifs decorate the xoanon's garment. A similar element is found on representations of Zeus of Euromos, only in this case the motifs are not arranged in rows, like on the xoanon of Hermes, or in a triangle like on Zeus of Labraunda, but they are distributed all over the garment of the god (List 3 G, 1).¹⁷

The only sources of representations of the god are on the coins.¹⁸ According to these the god was dressed in a long garment over which there was an Ependytes. The Ependytes, which reached to the neck and was girdled, was decorated with

16. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 77-78.

17. Garassimov, 1939; Fleischer, 1973: 324-26.

18. Fleischer, 1973: 324.

round protrusions. Above the girdle there were three rows of protrusions, while on the lower part there were five or even six. The god was also wearing long hair and a full-beard. No polos decorated his head. He was holding a spear in his left hand and a double axe in his right.¹⁹ The antiquity of the cult-image is not certain. The excavations, however, of the years 1970-1971 brought to light Archaic finds from the area of the temple, an indication of the antiquity of the site.²⁰

The xoanon of Hermes, while it does not come from the area of Asia Minor (although it does belong to an area at the edge of the Greek world similar to Asia Minor), belongs nevertheless to a time, in the early Classical period, which implies that the breast-like motif could have existed already at least at the end of the Archaic period. This motif could thus be thought of as the first step towards the breast motif of the fourth century BC.

Artemis of Ephesos and Zeus of Labraunda are not the only cult-images with the breast motif on the chest. It is found also on Zeus Osogoa of Mylasa, Artemis of Sardis and Athena Nikephoros as represented on two coins from the Sitichoro hoard in Thessaly.²¹

The multiple rows of breasts represent a puzzling feature which has attracted many interpretations. Seiterle saw them as the testicles of the bulls which were sacrificed every year in the great festival of the goddess.²² On the other hand Meurer thought that the breast-like motif was a development of Archaic pendants,²³

19. Fleischer, 1973: 324-25.

20. Fleischer, 1973: 326.

21. Fleischer, 1973: 323; Fleischer, 1978: 348-49; le Rider, 1973.

22. Seiterle, 1979: 9-13.

23. Meurer, 1914.

a suggestion which fits very well with Bammer's discovery of appendages in the interior of the Geometric Peripteros at Ephesos. In late Hellenistic and Roman times the breasts of Artemis seem to have symbolised the planets and the phases of the moon and the sun.²⁴ However the most common suggestion is that they are simply multiple breasts which symbolise the fertility which the goddess brought to the people.

Bammer also discovered in the interior of the Geometric peripteros two girdles which resemble the girdle of the goddess as it is represented on the back of the Roman copies. It is not certain if the two girdles belonged to the cult-image since they were not discovered near the base. According to Bammer the girdle is the strongest indication which links the ancient xoanon with the Roman copies.²⁵

As for the Ependytes its original form was probably not that of a metallic cover which enclosed the lower part of the body. It is possible that it derived its appearance from metal plaques which were fastened to the garment of the goddess in the fashion of Mesopotamian draperies.²⁶ The Ependytes was decorated with the representations of animals and mythological creatures. This decoration emphasises the role of the goddess as the mistress of nature and wild animals.²⁷

A last feature of Artemis to be discussed is the size of the cult-image. There are no references as to its size. The general belief is that it was under-life-size and that is because it was a xoanon. This belief is emphasised by the references in

24. Heinzl, 1972/3: 247 ff.

25. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 78.

26. Fleischer, 1973: 123-24; Oppenheim, 1949: 191; Bammer and Muss, 1996: 73.

27. *LIMC* II, 1984: 756.

ancient literature about the procession of the cult image during the Daitis festival, a practice which probably called for a relatively small and not very heavy statue, easy to carry in the procession.²⁸ The word xoanon, as already mentioned, is connected with the meaning of a small, wooden and quite primitive cult-statue. However, an ancient xoanon-type cult-image was not necessarily under-life-size.²⁹ So Artemis' ancient cult-statue and its fourth century replacement could easily have been life-size or even over-life size.³⁰ Many of the later copies are quite big in scale and a large cult-image would have been better suited to a great temple like the Artemision. However since there is no reference in the ancient sources as to its size, all the suggestions remain open to discussion.

Summarising the evidence we have about Artemis' cult-image we can say that the Hellenistic and Roman copies probably followed the ancient xoanon as it appeared in the fourth century, whether it was the surviving Archaic statue or an Archaistic replacement. However it seems possible that during the centuries that followed some of the features of the original changed, like the details of the polos, which in Roman times became a turreted crown (like that of Tyche), since one of the functions of the goddess was the protection of the city.³¹ Furthermore elements which probably did not exist in the original became fashionable later, like the representation of the zodiac.

These changes can be explained as real garments or accessories which decorated

28. Romano, 1988: 128-29.

29. Rumpf, 1956: 60-62.

30. Trell, 1988: 81-82.

31. *LIMC* II, 1984: 756.

the Archaic cult-image and which changed over a period of time, leaving, however, the basic appearance of the goddess intact, a cult-image dressed in a sleeved chiton and wearing a polos on its head, with rows of breasts on its chest and a metallic Ependytes. We know from the ancient sources that one of the religious services in the sanctuary was that of the Kosmeteira. These priestesses were responsible for the wardrobe of the goddess. This information supports the suggestion that the cult-image was partly dressed in real garments.³²

In further consideration of that interesting question, what the cult-image of Artemis looked like in the fourth century BC, we can turn to one of the earliest chronological copies we know. It is the statue in Athens, NM 1638 (Fleischer E 3; Cat.2, 1) (Fig.45), and it is dated to the Hellenistic period. As already mentioned this is the only one of the copies where the "breasts" are arranged in a triangle, and it is probably an indication that this is how they were arranged in the fourth century BC too. However this particular example presents other significant differences from the later (Roman) copies. Instead of the wreath of flowers ("Imortelenkranz") of the Roman works she wears a row of four "rosette-flowers". This row is flanked by two Nikes in relief. The Nikes appear in the later copies too but this time they are on the crescent-motif on her chest. The neck of the goddess was adorned by three simple necklaces.

On the lower part of her body there are no signs of an Ependytes as a separate metallic cover as we know it from the Roman works, since the garment follows the

32. *LIMC* II, 1984: 756.

contour of the body. The decoration of the lower part of the statue (three pairs of griffins and one pair of sphinxes arranged in four rows, and winged female figures placed on the sides) seems to be attached directly to the garment and not part of a separate metallic cover. This supports the idea that originally the Ependytes was not the metallic cover we know from the later copies, but that it consisted of decorative motifs, such as griffins, animals etc. or decorated metallic plaques attached to the lower part of the chiton of the goddess.

The overall impression is that this is a simpler version of the cult-image in comparison to the Roman copies, and in all probability comes closer to the form of the statue in the fourth century. It keeps the basic features of the statue (breast-motif, Ependytes, flower-necklace, nimbus) but it does not present the extreme decorativeness of the Roman works.

The head of the Athens statue is not preserved. However judging from later works and what we have already discussed about the headdress of the goddess, we can suggest that she was wearing on her head a polos hat. The polos was probably low, and it is also possible that she had a rosette diadem underneath the polos, since according to Fleischer the rosette diadem could be an ancient feature originating in similar Assyrian diadems.³³ On the right shoulder of the goddess is visible part of the nimbus which decorated the shoulders of the figure. Our belief is that the cult-image of the goddess in the fourth century BC would have been quite similar in form to the statue discussed above.

33. Fleischer, 1973: 50-51.

Another important deity of the area which presents notable similarities to Artemis of Ephesos is the Artemis of Sardis. Representations of the deity can be found on coins of the Roman period and on a capital of the second half of the second century AD which depicts the deity (List 3 C 1-9) (Fig.49). Her appearance follows the representations on coins.³⁴ The goddess had the same pose as the above discussed deity and she wore a polos on her head. On the Hellenistic representations a long veil was hanging from under the polos, while on the later representations (Roman) the veil was hanging from over the polos. From the representations the rendering of the garments of the deity is not very clear. Probably she wore a necklace with four large beads and a shawl covered the rest of her upper body. However the beads of the necklace could be interpreted as breasts similar to those of the Ephesian Artemis. On the lower part of the body there was a strip which was probably divided into small squares one next to the other.³⁵ Alternatively, according to Hanfmann and Balmuth, these were the folds of the dress.³⁶ The cult-image was probably of the seventh century BC and as in the case of the already discussed cult-statue it was probably dressed with real garments and jewels which possibly underwent changes during the Roman period, which would explain the variation in the position of the veil on the coin images.³⁷

Before concluding this short discussion of the Artemis of Sardis, a few remarks

34. Fleischer, 1973: 193.

35. Fleischer, 1973: 193-94.

36. Hanfmann and Balmuth, 1965: 262f; Fleischer, 1973: 194.

37. Fleischer, 1973: 195.

might be made about the nature of the goddess. Although the local Lydian goddess was Kybebe, as Herodotus mentions (5, 102), in Greek and Roman times she was identified with Artemis. Furthermore there are indications (in an inscription from the Prytaneion wall in Ephesos)³⁸ that the cult of Artemis in Sardis was closely connected with the cult of Artemis in Ephesos (Fig.50). In fact it seems possible that there was a sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia in Sardis, and the festival of the goddess was honoured by a special procession from Ephesos to Sardis where the Ephesians brought new garments to the goddess. According to Fleischer there was a parallel practice in ancient Mesopotamia where the major sanctuaries used to lend garments of the gods to smaller temples. And it is exactly from that area that the Ependytes of our deities originates.³⁹

Another goddess with great similarities to Artemis of Ephesos was Artemis Leukophryene. The place of her cult was Magnesia on the Maeander. The representations of the goddess come from the coins of the Imperial Era. From these representations we get the picture of a cult-image very similar to that of Artemis of Ephesos. She was wearing, apart from her long garments, a polos and a long veil, a multi-breast motif similar to that of the Ephesian goddess and bands which hung from her hands down to the floor. On coins of L. Verus with the representation of the goddess, Victories appear flanking her cult-image.⁴⁰ The cult of the goddess seems to have existed at least from Archaic times, if we take into

38. Eichler, 1962: 50ff; Knibbe, 1961-63: 175ff.

39. Sokolowski, 1965: 427ff; Fleischer, 1973: 200-1.

40. Kroll, 1925: 2278.

account Pausanias' information (III, 18, 9) that Bathykles of Magnesia made a representation of the goddess which stood at the Amyklaion near Sparta. Pausanias as well as Strabo (Paus.I, 26, 4; Strabo 14, 1, 40) mention that in the fifth century the sons of Themistokles set up a statue of the goddess at Athens.⁴¹ In the second century BC the cult image was placed in the new temple which was made by Hermogenes at Magnesia, where the foundation of the statue-base is still preserved.⁴²

The cult-image of Hera of Samos has a long history and there are many representations of it from Hellenistic and Roman times (List 3 D). According to the legend (cf.Paus.VII, 4, 4) the sanctuary of Hera was founded by the Argonauts who brought with them from Argos the cult-image of the goddess. Behind this legend seems to be a historical event that reflects the spread of the cult of Hera from Argos, which apparently was the centre of her cult, both to the East (Samos) and to the West. Pausanias, however, gives a second tradition too (VII, 4, 4), according to which people believed that Hera was born at Samos and that the Aeginetan sculptor Smilis had made her cult-statue.⁴³

The cult-image of the goddess, as we know it from its representations on coins of Hellenistic and Roman times, appears to belong to the same Anatolian tradition as the Artemis of Ephesos (Figs. 51, 52). We do not have any representations of the cult image of the goddess from the fourth or previous centuries but there is an

41. *LIMC* II, 1984: 764.

42. *LIMC* II, 1984: 764; Akurgal, 1973: 179.

43. *LIMC* IV, 1988: 659.

inscription from Samos which is dated to 346/45 BC and which gives some important information about the goddess. The inscription refers to two images of the goddess, the *theos* and the *opisthe theos*. It gives a list of garments and jewels which were dedicated to the two images.⁴⁴ All the garments except one go to the *theos*, while only one white chiton is dedicated to the *opisthe theos*. There is, as at Ephesos, a slight confusion as to how many cult images existed in antiquity. According to the Samian historian Aethlios (fifth century BC) the cult-image of the goddess originally was a plank. Later in the archonship of Proklis the plank took a more human appearance (FGrH 356 F3). As already mentioned Pausanias gives us the information that the Aeginetan Smilis made a statue of the goddess. From this reference, however, it is not clear if Smilis made a new statue, as some believe, or if he gave a human look to the primitive xoanon. This last suggestion, however, does not agree with Aethlios' remark which places this reform of the statue in the time of Prokles, a much earlier period than that of Smilis. Furthermore according to Kallimachos (frag.100) the name of the sculptor under discussion was not Smilis but Skelmis.⁴⁵ What it seems possible to conclude from all this is that there probably were two cult-images one ancient, and quite primitive, which at some point took on a more human form, and a second one, a later creation made by Smilis in the second half of the sixth century, which also stood in the temple with

44. Ohly, 1953: 34ff, 47ff; Fleischer, 1973: 221.

45. *LIMC* IV: 662.

the ancient one. This agrees with the reference of the above-mentioned inscription to two goddesses. The ancient one would be the *theos* of the Samian inscription, while the *opisthe theos* was Smilis' creation.⁴⁶

The existence of two cult-images, one ancient and one younger, seems to be supported by the architectural finds from the site of the temple. According to Ohly the plinth of the ancient base of the cult-statue was preserved until the end of paganism. He also adds that it is an impressive fact that the base survived the major changes that happened in the sanctuary during the sixth century BC. In Archaic times the base stood in the middle of the cella. At some point a stepped structure was erected around the base, which was probably followed by four columns supporting a baldachin. In the pronaos of the second Dipteros, right on the cross-section of the two axial lines there was a second base. This structure has been connected with the inscription mentioned above and with the reference to two cult-images.⁴⁷ According to Ohly this duplication took place during the time of Rhoikos and Theodoros. At that time the altar of the sacred willow-tree was included in the temple, and this innovation demanded a new image of the goddess.⁴⁸

The ancient xoanon, the *theos*, is believed to be the one which was represented on Roman coins (Figs. 51, 52). It is of the same type as the Artemis of Ephesos, a standing figure with arms held close to the body and hands protruding outwards

46. Fleischer, 1973: 219.

47. Ohly, 1953: 29, 33.

48. Ohly, 1953: 34.

from which woollen ribbons were hanging. The goddess is wearing a chiton and the lower part of her body seems also to be covered by an Ependytes. This Ependytes, however, does not have the appearance of a metallic form, like the Ependytes of Artemis. Probably it was made of fabric. The area of the body around the waist and the hips of the goddess is enclosed within two crossed bands. This feature is, according to Kardara, the *proslemma amphithysanon* which is mentioned in the inscription.⁴⁹ Her chest is covered by a decorative motif which on some coins, where the representation of the motif is not clear, looks like rows of breasts. However on one coin the representation of the feature is clear, and it is apparent that they were small round projections arranged in rows.⁵⁰ The headdress of the goddess has led to a variety of interpretations, particularly the two protruding parts on the left and on the right side of the polos. According to some scholars they are snakes, while according to Kardara they are horns.⁵¹ However a possible alternative explanation is that they are vine-branches. Simon seems to agree with this and she compares the vine-tendrils of the goddess with the well-known head of Hera from Olympia and the tendrils which grow from her head. She also compares it with other representations of Hera with plant decoration.⁵²

Another feature is the veil which was hanging down from under the polos. Although the veil was a symbol of the bride, there are doubts if rituals like the washing of her cult image in the sea every year was connected with wedding rites.

49. Kardara, 1960: 350ff.

50. Fleischer, 1973: 211.

51. Kardara, 1960: 350-53.

52. Simon, 1969: 54.

Furthermore as Fleischer remarked, in early Imperial times the statue seems to wear a "Nimbus" like Artemis of Ephesos, instead of the veil.⁵³

As mentioned above, the representations of the goddess come from the Roman period. However, dating from well before that time there is an important discovery from the excavations at Samos, namely a wooden statuette of the seventh century BC which depicts Hera.⁵⁴ The statuette is of the Daedalic type with a high polos, an indication that she is the goddess, a short mantle which covers her shoulders,⁵⁵ hands placed tightly against her thighs and a long skirt which is girdled at her waist with a broad belt. Can this be a copy of the cult image of the goddess in the seventh century BC or at least be inspired by it? According to Fleischer it is not. It is a representation of the goddess but not a copy of her cult image. The garments of the statuette are not necessarily the garments of the cult statue. He argues that the practice of copying a cult-image which is wearing real clothes started in the late Hellenistic period but it was predominantly a feature of the Roman period.⁵⁶ In Ephesos too there has been discovered a number of small figurines which probably represent the deity and not her priestesses as was first suggested. These figurines, though, do not resemble the cult-image of the goddess in any of its details.⁵⁷

The antiquity of the cult, and in consequence of the cult-image, raises another question connected with the image of the Samian Hera. It is possible that we are

53. Fleischer, 1973: 209, 216.

54. Fleischer, 1973: 216.

55. According to Ohly this is the *proslemma amphithysanon*. Ohly, 1967: 95; Fleischer, 1973: 211.

56. Fleischer, 1973: 216.

57. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 76-77.

dealing with a very ancient cult at the site of the Heraion. Excavations brought to light finds from the sub-Mycenean and Protogeometric periods. Furthermore the plank-like appearance of the ancient cult-image caused Simon to suggest that the dating of the cult should go back to the third millennium BC. Other suggestions place the beginning of the cult around 900 BC (Buschor).⁵⁸ However an important indication for the antiquity of the cult are the coins of the Samian colony Perinthos which represent the cult-image of a goddess similar to that of the Samian Hera. The colonists probably brought with them a cult-statue similar to the image of Hera who protected their metropolis. There are representations on coins which characteristically depict the goddess standing on the prow of a ship (List 3 D VI, 1-5). Since Perinthos was founded at around 600 BC this would give a terminus ante quem for the appearance of the Samian Hera.⁵⁹ A similar representation is found on the coins of another Samian colony, Minoa at Amorgos.⁶⁰

Apart from the representations of the goddess on the prow of a ship there are also other iconographic combinations of the cult-image as we know them from coins. There are the representations where Nemesis stands next to Hera (List 3 D V, 1-3), or those where Tyche holds a statuette of Hera on her hand (List 3 D III, 1-3). She is also depicted flanked by the sun and the moon (List 3 D I, 10), like other Anatolian goddesses, or by two children who play astragals (List 3 D IV, 1-2). She is also depicted in the middle of a temple-like structure, presumably a reference to

58. Simon, 1969: 61, 65; Buschor, 1930: 1; Fleischer, 1973: 218, 219.

59. Fleischer, 1973: 206, 220.

60. Fleischer, 1973: 206; Lacroix, 1949: 211.

her temple (List 3 D VII, 1-5).⁶¹ In the time of Domitian peacocks appear to stand by the image of Hera (List 3 D II, 1-4). It is possible that figures of peacocks actually stood by her statue in the temple since the inscription of 346/5 BC mentions *strouthoi*, among the votives. According to Ohly these birds were peacocks and not sparrows, as they are usually interpreted. In any case we know from the ancient sources that peacocks were living in the sanctuary.⁶²

Can we then be sure what the cult image looked like in the fourth century BC? The answer is once more, not necessarily. The only certain source we have is the inscription from Samos with the dedications to the goddess. Many attempts have been made to interpret the garments and the jewels which are mentioned in the inscription and also to identify them with elements from the representations of the goddess. However nothing is certain.⁶³ Although tradition says that the origin of the cult was from Argos and that the cult-statue was brought to the island by the Argonauts, it seems possible that the origin of the statue was from Asia Minor.⁶⁴ It also belonged to the same family as the Artemis of Ephesos, that is to say it was a statue with out-turned hands and real garments. Elements like the Ependytes and the jewels on the chest probably decorated the ancient xoanon during the fourth century BC, since as we have already seen, features like these probably existed on the cult- statue of Artemis of Ephesos in the fourth century BC, as well as being attested on the Zeus of Labraunda.

61. Schweitzer, 1931: 207f, pl.4,6; Lacroix, 1949: 209ff; Fleischer, 1973: 205-6.

62. Ohly, 1953: 48; Menodotos in *Frgr. Hist.* 541; Christou, 1968: 611; Fleischer, 1973: 214-15.

63. Fleischer, 1973: 222.

64. Fleischer, 1973: 218; Laumonier, 1958: 695ff.

Apart from Artemis and Hera there were other cult-images in the area which presented great similarities to the statues discussed above. Aphrodite of Aphrodisias was quite close in representation to Artemis of Ephesos (List 3 B, I-II) (Fig.53). She had the same pose as Artemis and Hera, as she stood with her feet close together, her arms tightly held against the body and with the hands protruding outwards. She wore a polos on her head, usually in the form of the walls of the city. The polos appears first in the Augustan period, before that she wore only a long veil. From underneath the polos too there hung down a very long veil which covered not only her back but her lower body too. She was also wearing a long sleeved chiton and a metallic Ependytes. The Ependytes covered her body and stopped at the middle of her legs. It was divided into zones, usually four and more rarely three, which were decorated with mythical figures such as the busts of Helios and Selene or the busts of Zeus and Hera, the Three Graces, Erotes and other mythological subjects. The breasts were covered by disc-like covers, and a pendant, consisting of palmettes and a lunula, which was hanging between them. The woollen bands and the flanking animals, which were found on the previously mentioned deities, here were missing. Finally like the Artemis of Ephesos she wore a wreath of "immortal-flowers" around her neck.⁶⁵

As in the case of the previously discussed statues the cult-image is known to us from copies and representations on coins of the Roman period. Although there are

65. Fleischer, 1973: 176, 183, 184.

references in the ancient literature about the existence of the site of a city before Hellenistic and Roman times, it is not certain if the cult of Aphrodite and her cult-image were that old. As we are informed by the literary sources the name of the city originally was "Lelegonpolis" and later was named "Megalopolis". Another name of the city was that of "Ninoe" from the name of the Assyrian King Ninos. However, behind this name one might suspect a connection with the cult of Nin-Istar, a relationship which was later translated into Aphrodisias, the name of the city. Furthermore in the area of the late Hellenistic pronaos of the temple was discovered the foundation of an Archaic building. The excavators of the site, however, are not very sure if this foundation belonged to an Archaic temple. In consequence we have no certain indication about the antiquity of the cult-image of the deity. If the statue of the goddess was earlier than Hellenistic times then, according to Fleischer, the wardrobe of the goddess was modernised during the first century BC, when the temple of the goddess was constructed. Features like the decoration of the Ependytes or the long veil belong to the late Hellenistic and mainly to the Roman period. Furthermore the wardrobe of the goddess seems to have fewer Archaic elements than that of Artemis of Ephesos.⁶⁶

A last representative of this group of Anatolian deities which present similarities to Artemis of Ephesos is Artemis Kindyas of Bargylia (List 3 E, 1-5). The best representation of the goddess is the small marble statue from Piraeus dating perhaps to c.100 BC (List 3 E, 1) (Fig.54). The goddess is represented wearing a

66. *LIMC* II, 1984: 153-54.

long garment, which covers her feet, probably a chiton, and an over-garment reaching to her knees. Her arms and hands, which are not visible, are covered by the garments. Her chest is decorated with two cross bands which secure her hands under the overgarment. A girdle which ends in fringes was fastened around her waist. This type of girdle which comes to Greece from Syria after the first half of the sixth century could be, according to Fleischer, the explanation for the *proslemma amphithysanon* of the inscription of 346/5 referring to the Samian Hera.⁶⁷

Apart from the Piraeus statuette representations of the goddess exist on coins of Hellenistic and Roman times. It is interesting that the earliest representations do not come from Bargylia, but are found on coins of Antiochos III before 190 BC. Although most scholars interpreted the representation as Eleuthera of Myra, Imhoof-Blumer was the first who gave the correct identification as Artemis Kindyas of Bargylia.⁶⁸ In this statue, too, one should see once more the reflection of an ancient wooden xoanon of the area, probably decorated with real garments and jewels.⁶⁹

Another local goddess from the area of Asia Minor which is identified with Artemis is the goddess of Perge. Probably the best representation of the goddess is found on a capital from the stage-building of the theatre at Perge. The capital,

67. Jucker, 1967: 140; Riis, 1948/49: 78, 82, 87; Fleischer, 1973: 226; Palagia, 1997: 179, nn.18-19.

68. Fleischer, 1973: 223; Imhoof-Blumer, 1913: 6, no.16, pl.1, 14.

69. Fleischer, 1973: 227.

which is dated to the second half of the second century AD, depicts the goddess in the same form as on the coins of Trajan. On the upper part there are seven small discs hanging from under the chin suspended from short pieces of string. The lower part is divided into three zones each of which carries six, five and four figures respectively. These are females wearing long garments, and they are depicted dancing or playing music. The goddess wears a rolled headdress ("wülstringen") on the head like the Artemis of Ephesos. On top of it comes the polos which is decorated with protomes of sphinxes. On both sides of the goddess stood two beam-like stands. According to Onurkan these were torches, while according to Fleischer they were stands which supported sphinxes. On the outer part of our representation two females are depicted, who wear a long chiton and carry wreaths in their hands. These figures act as "helpers" of the goddess, similar to the "helpers" who appear next to Artemis Ephesia and other goddesses.⁷⁰

It is often suggested that the image of the goddess was actually a holy stone, a baetyl. However it is not certainly proved that this was so. It is a question which, as Onurkan pointed out, must stay open. It seems possible, though, that the cult-image of the goddess originally was aniconic, either a baetyl or a sacred tree.⁷¹

Two more reliefs which represent the goddess came to light in the Turkish excavations at Perge. On one relief the goddess is depicted wearing a very long garment with a broad girdle under the chest. She was wearing a crown depicting the sun's-rays and the moon sickle on her shoulders. In her hands she was holding

70. Fleischer, 1973: 245-46.

71. Fleischer, 1973: 249, 250, 251.

a torch and a bow. The second relief shows great similarities to the representation of Artemis. On this example Artemis wears a jewel which recalls the breast motif on Artemis of Ephesos, although it does not seem to be the same.⁷² According to Fleischer this other type of representation of the goddess is a possible indication for the existence of two cult-images in the temple as in the case of Hera on Samos.⁷³

Another goddess from the area of Asia Minor, relevant to the above-discussed deities, was Eleuthera of Myra. From the representations of the goddess on coins we get the impression of a figure dressed in a long chiton with an Ependytes over it. The Ependytes was decorated with the busts of figures, six or maybe seven of them, in which case we can assume that these were representations of the seven planet-gods as on Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Many scholars, though, such as Gerhard, Robert, Lichtenecker and Vermeule, explain the protrusions on the Ependytes as breasts. But the representation on a coin (c.f. Fleischer, 1973: Taf.94b) shows clearly that these protrusions were busts and not breasts.⁷⁴ The emphasised protrusions above the Ependytes, were surmounted by a wreath of flowers or a necklace around the neck. The goddess wore a polos on her head, from which a long veil hung. It is noticeable that on many representations the arms of the goddess are not visible, which is why it was often thought that the goddess was depicted without arms.⁷⁵

At the end of this chapter we can review what we have already discussed about

72. Fleischer, 1973: 252-53.

73. Fleischer, 1973: 253-54.

74. Fleischer, 1973: 230-32.

75. Fleischer, 1973: 230-31.

the ancient cult-images of Asia Minor. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter Asia Minor was an area with many ancient xoana and cult-images. Most important among them was that of Artemis of Ephesos, which was very influential on the form and the decoration of other cult-images of the area. The only representations we have of Artemis' cult-image are from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They depict a cult statue with unusual decoration. The most distinctive feature of her decoration were the multiple rows of breasts on her chest, symbol of the fertility which the goddess brought to the people. In the fire of 356 BC the great Archaic temple of the goddess was totally destroyed. If the cult-image was also destroyed in the fire, then it must have been replaced by a new one in the late fourth century BC which would have followed the Archaic forms of the previous image (of Endoios). This statue was probably the original from which the Hellenistic and Roman copies derive their inspiration. Judging from these copies the original had an Archaistic appearance. Many of its attributes such as the polos, the breast-motif and probably the Ependytes come from the Archaic period. As in the case of the late Classical temple, which followed its predecessor in both ground-plan and design, the late Classical cult-image followed the Archaic one in many of its details in order to emphasise the continuity of the cult. A group of cult-images such as the Artemis of Sardis, Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, Artemis Leukophryene, were influenced by the Artemis of Ephesos. Many of the cult-images under discussion were creations of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, preserving, however, an Archaistic appearance, following the example of Artemis of Ephesos.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Archaistic look of the cult-statues of Asia-Minor represented a deliberate choice when the sanctuaries and temples came to be rebuilt during the Ionian Renaissance of the fourth century BC. In some instances, where temples had not been destroyed since the sixth century BC, genuine Archaic images may have survived. Elsewhere, including perhaps Ephesos, replacements in the Archaic style (i.e. Archaistic) would have been required, which in turn influenced other similar images in nearby shrines. In Asia Minor it seems that the choice of Archaism even for new temples and images was to emphasise continuity or Renaissance from the great period of the sixth century ended by the Ionian revolt of 494 BC, and the purpose was to re-establish the tenets of Ionian art and style in the revived artistic climate of the fourth century BC dominated by the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria.⁷⁶

76. Waywell, 1994.

CATALOGUE 2: SELECT MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 4

FOUR COPIES OF ARTEMIS OF EPHEOS WITH NOTEWORTHY FEATURES

1. Athens NM 1638 (Fig. 45) (Fleischer: E 3)

Bibliography: Fleischer, R, 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden.

Description: Standing statue of Artemis, less than life-size. From Athens. The statue is made of marble. The head and the neck are missing. The forearms are broken at the elbow. The feet are also missing. There is also damage to other parts of the body, such as the breasts. The goddess wears a sleeved chiton. Her chest is decorated with three necklaces. Underneath them there is a garland of flowers, and immediately under this there are the rows of breasts. Twenty-eight breasts are arranged in seven rows of seven, six, five, four, three, two and one appendages respectively. The rows form a triangle. On the left and right side of the rows there are two Nikes, one on each side. They are depicted in profile and they wear a girdled peplos with apoptygma. They both raise one arm (the right one the right arm and the left one the left), towards the garland of flowers. The greater part of the torso is decorated with the rows of breasts. The lower part of her body is adorned with one pair of griffins, one pair of winged bulls, one pair of sphinxes, one further pair of winged bulls, and a pair of rosettes. All the mythological creatures are depicted frontally. On the sides there are two bees, one of the kind

on each side, above whom are winged female figures. On the arms of the goddess rest two lions.

As mentioned, the head of Artemis is missing. Two strands of her hair, however, hang on her shoulders, a feature which recalls representations of archaic korai. A small part of the nimbus springs from the right shoulder of the goddess.

Interpretation: This representation of Artemis differs from the other replicas of the goddess. First of all the decoration of her garment, although rich, is simpler than on the rest of her representations. Furthermore there are two more interesting features which are not found on later examples. The first one is the arrangement of the breasts in rows which form a triangle instead of parallel lines as in later examples. The second one is the decoration of the lower part of her body. The pairs of mythological creatures and the rest of the adornments are fastened straight on to the garment; they are not part of the metallic cover we know from other representations of the goddess, the Ependytes.

The suggestions about the dating of the statuette vary, from late Hellenistic to Claudian or post-Claudian. The dating in the Hellenistic period is acceptable for two reasons. The differences in the decoration of this statue as well as the lack of decorative elements, which exist on later representations of Roman times (e.g. the zodiac), point to an earlier date, i.e. before the Roman period. The other reason is the two Nikes. The two female figures in their appearance recall examples of the Hellenistic period.

2. Selçuk Museum 718 (Fig. 48) (Fleischer: E 46)

Bibliography: Fleischer, R, 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden.

Description: Standing statue of Artemis of Ephesos which was found at the site of the Prytaneion at Ephesos. It has some damage to her face and the two forearms are missing. The goddess stands erect, and her forearms and hands were outstretched. She is dressed in a sleeved chiton and she is richly adorned. Four female figures in profile decorate the chest of the goddess, together with the Immortal flowers and the zodiac. Breasts of various sizes are arranged in three parallel rows. The Ependytes is decorated with six levels of formal panels. Each of the central sections has groups of three frontal animals. The first group represents three lions, the next two, griffins, the following, panthers, the next two stags, while the lowest part has a pair of rosettes.

The arms of the goddess are decorated with a pair of lions each. The Nimbus is decorated with the busts of griffins. The head of the goddess is adorned with a diadem consisting of two rows of rosettes, a decoration which according to Fleischer originates in the Assyrian past. Directly above the diadem lie the "wulstringen".

Two particular features are worthy of particular notice. The first is the Archaic-like smile of the goddess, a feature which adds to the Archaic-like appearance of Artemis. The second feature is the bell-like objects on the base of the statue.

These objects, which are decorated with a net-like pattern, were probably the ends of the woollen bands which hung from the hands of the goddess.

The statue is to be dated in the Roman period.

3. Naples Museo Nazionale 665 (Fig. 47) (Fleischer: E 23)

Bibliography: Fleischer, R, 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden.

Description: Standing statue of Artemis of Ephesos. Originally found in Rome, it belonged to the Farnese Family. It is made of alabaster and bronze. The goddess stands erect, extending her forearms forward. She is dressed in a chiton, the decoration of which is rich. On her chest there are two female Nikes in profile facing each other. Below them there are the wreath of Immortal flowers and a necklace. Seventeen breasts of various sizes are arranged in four rows. Underneath is the metallic Ependytes, which covers the lower part of her body. The Ependytes is divided into sections, each section having a different representation. The first three sections are decorated with groups of three frontal griffins, one for each section. The next is adorned with a group of three stags, and the following with the pair of bulls. The lowest section is decorated with a bee. The sections on the sides of the Ependytes are decorated with winged female torsos, bees and rosettes. The arms of the goddess are decorated with a pair of lions each. From her shoulders springs the round nimbus. It is decorated with a group of four griffins on either side of her head. The head of the goddess is crowned by a diadem in the form of the walls of a city.

The noteworthy feature of this statue is that the naked parts of her body (i.e. head, face and neck, hands and feet) are made of bronze and they are darker than the rest of the statue which is made of alabaster. The reason for that was probably the

desire to convey the darker surface of the naked parts of the original resulting either from its anointment with olive oil for veneration and preservation or from the use of a darker kind of wood, such as ebony, for its carving.

The statue is to be dated in the Roman period.

4. Selçuk Museum 712 (Fig. 46) (Fleischer: E 45)

Bibliography: Fleischer, R, 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden.

Description: Standing statue of Artemis of Ephesos. It was found at the site of the Prytaneion at Ephesos. The face of the statue is damaged and the nose is broken. Part of the right side of the Nimbus and of the temple-like polos are also damaged. The two forearms, the feet and the lower part of her garments are broken.

The goddess stands erect, and her forearms were outstretched. She is dressed in a sleeved chiton which is richly adorned. She wears three necklaces and a wreath of immortal flowers. Approximately thirty breasts are arranged into four parallel rows. The breasts of the lowest row are very small in comparison to the rest. The lower part of her body is enclosed in the metallic Ependytes. The belt of the Ependytes is decorated with rosettes and bees. The Ependytes is divided into sections. Each section has its own decoration similar to the decoration of the previously described examples. The first two of the frontal sections are decorated with a group of three griffins each. The next two are also decorated with a group of three stags each. The busts of three panthers adorn the following section while the lowest one depicts the busts of two bulls. The sections on the sides are decorated with the busts of frontal winged figures, bees and rosettes. Furthermore two lions, one on each side, decorate the arms of Artemis. The Nimbus of the goddess is also decorated with the busts of griffins. The high polos has the form of

a temple, an unusual feature which is significant for the dating of the statue to the time of Trajan.

LIST 3: MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 4

A. ARTEMIS OF EPHEOSOS (In addition to the four examples in Catalogue 2, above)

STATUES

1. Aquileia, Mus.Arch.Naz.451 (Fleischer E 1; LIMC II, 759, no.26).
2. Aquileia, Mus.Arch.Naz.PG 8 (Fleischer E 2; LIMC II, 759, no.27).
3. Bologna, Museo Civico (Fleischer E 5; LIMC II, 759, no.31).
4. Dresde, Albertinum 42 (Fleischer E 6; LIMC II, 759, no.32).
5. Frascati, Villa Falconieri (Fleischer E 8; LIMC II, 759, no.34).
6. Florence, Uffizi 521 (Fleischer E 9; LIMC II, 759, no.35).
7. Istanbul, Arch.Mus. 4613 (Fleischer E 11; LIMC II, 759, no.37).
8. Izmir, Museum Basmahane 4382 (Fleischer E 12; LIMC II, 759, no.38).
9. Jerusalem, Israel Museum. From Caesarea (Fleischer E 13; LIMC II, 759, no.39).
10. Cos, Museum 19 (Fleischer E 15; LIMC II, 759, no.42).
11. London, British Museum 1430 (Fleischer E 18; LIMC II, 759, no.44).
12. London, Soane Museum 613 (Fleischer E 19; LIMC II, 759, no.45).
13. Paris, Louvre 2442 (Fleischer E 28; LIMC II, 759, no.54).
14. Rome, Museo Torlonia 483 (Fleischer E 33; LIMC II, 759, no.60).
15. Rome, Museo Torlonia (Fleischer E 34; LIMC II, 759, no.61).
16. Rome, Palazzo Conservatori, Sala dei Trionfi 6 (Fleischer E 35; LIMC II, 760, no.62).
17. Vatican, Galleria dei Candelabri 2505 (Fleischer E 36; LIMC II, 760, no.63).

18. Rome, Villa Albani 700 (Fleischer E 40; LIMC II, 760, no.67).
19. Rome, Villa Albani 658 (Fleischer E 41; LIMC II, 760, no.68).
20. Selçuk, Museum 717 (Fleischer E 47; LIMC II, 760, no.75).
21. Once in Solothurn, in J.Müller's private collection, now in Basel Antikenmuseum (Fleischer E 58; LIMC II, 760, no.86).
22. Statue of Artemis Ephesia in Tripolis Museum 150 from Leptis Magna (Fleischer E 60; LIMC II, 760, no.88).

TERRACOTTAS

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Fleischer E 88; LIMC II, 761, no.99)
2. Geneva, Mus.d'Art et d'Hist.9148 (Fleischer E 92; LIMC II, 761, no.103).
3. London, British Museum C 452 (Fleischer E99; LIMC II, 761, no.111)
4. London, British Museum.1971.9-24.1 (Fleischer E 100; LIMC II, 761, no.112).
5. Paris, Louvre MNC 40 (MYR 809) (Fleischer E 101; LIMC II, 761, no.113).
6. Paris, Louvre CA 1202 (Fleischer E 102; LIMC II, 761-2, no.114).

RELIEFS

1. Afyon Museum. Without Inv.No. (Fleischer E 70; LIMC II, 757, no.1)
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum SNS 308 (Fleischer E 71; LIMC II, 757, no.2).
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum LKA 1120 (Fleischer E 72; LIMC II, 757, no.3).
4. Naples. Museo Nazionale (Fleischer E 73; LIMC II, 757, no.4).
5. Frieze from Sagir near Yalvac (Fleischer E 74; LIMC II, 757, no.7)

6. Relief in the West passage of the Mazeus-Mithridates Gate, Ephesos (Fleischer E 77; LIMC II, 758, no.10).

COINS

1. Cistophoros, 159-133 BC (SNG Aulock 1852; Fleischer, Taf.51b; LIMC II, 758, no.22).
2. Stater, time of Mithridates (87-84 BC) (SNG Aulock 1869; Fleischer, Taf.53b; LIMC II, 758, no.23).
3. Coin from Ephesos with the representation of Artemis, (Claudius and Agrippina) (Fleischer, Taf.54b).
4. Coin from Ephesos also with Artemis, time of Claudius. (SNG Aulock 14, Taf. 224, 6575 ; Fleischer, Taf.55a).
5. Claudian cistophoros with Artemis Ephesia. (SNG Aulock 14, Taf.224, 6573; Fleischer, Taf.55b).
6. Cistophoros of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) (Fleischer, Taf.56b; LIMC II, 758, no.25).
7. Coin from Stratonikeia in Caria with Artemis Ephesia or maybe another similar goddess. Time of Septimius Severus. (SNG Aulock 7, Taf.84, 2670; Fleischer, Taf.57a).

B. APHIRODITE OF APHIRODISIAS

I STATUES

1. Athens NM 2147 (upper part) and 1795 (lower part) (Fleischer A 1; LIMC II, 152, no.11).
2. Bologna, Museo Civico (Fleischer A 3; LIMC II, 152, no.13).
3. Florence, Uffizi 490 (Fleischer A 8; LIMC II, 152, no.17).
4. Geyre (Aphrodisias), excavation site (Fleischer A 9; LIMC II, 152, no.18).
5. Munich, Antiquarium der Residenz 315 (Fleischer A 14; LIMC II, 152-3, no.24).
6. Rome, Museo Nazionale 67556 (Fleischer, A 20; LIMC II, 153, no.30) (Fig.53).
7. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Depot 2959 (Fleischer A 21; LIMC II, 153, no.31).
8. Selçuk, Museum store-room, Inv.no. W 66/158 (Fleischer, A 24; LIMC II, 153, no.34).
9. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 139 (Fleischer, A 25; LIMC II, 153, no.35).
10. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 930 (Fleischer, A 26; LIMC II, 153, no.36).
11. Bronze statuette in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.969 (Fleischer, A 34; LIMC II, 153, no.40).

II COINS

1. Coin of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD) (BMC Caria 39, 87, pl.7, 1; LIMC II, 152, no.10).
2. Coin of Aphrodisias with Aphrodite (Faustina) (Fleischer, Taf.74a).
3. Coin of Aphrodisias with the representation of Aphrodite (Gordian III). (SNG Aulock 7, Taf.77, 2461; Fleischer, Taf.74b)

C. ARTEMIS OF SARDIS

1. Pilaster capital from Sardis with Artemis. In the excavation area (Fleischer, Taf. 77; LIMC II, 766, no.1).
2. Gemstone. Basel, Art Market (Fleischer, Taf.78a; LIMC II, 766, no.2).
3. Gemstone in Berlin with the representation of Artemis of Sardis (Fleischer, Taf. 78b; LIMC II, 766, no.3).
4. Gemstone in Berlin. Staatliches Museum FG 7221 (Fleischer, Taf.78d; LIMC II, 766, no.5).
5. Homonoia coin of Ephesos and Sardis representing the two patron goddesses: Artemis Ephesia and Artemis of Sardis. It is dated to the time of M.Aurelius. (BMC Ionia, pl.38, 3; Fleischer, Taf.79 a; LIMC II, 766, no.6) (Fig. 50).
6. Cistophoros of the time of Hadrian with the representation of Artemis of Sardis. (SNG Aulock 14, Taf.227, 6633; Fleischer, Taf.80 a; LIMC II, 766, no.7).
8. Another cistophoros of Hadrian with Artemis. Bundessammlung, Vienna 39117 (Fleischer, Taf.81 a).
9. Coin from Silandos with the representation of Artemis of Sardis. It is dated to the time of Lucilla. (SNG Aulock 8, Taf.101, 3174; Fleischer, Taf.82 a) (Fig.49).

D. HERA OF SAMOS

I

1. Wooden statuette of Hera in Vathy, Samos. (Fleischer, Taf.84).
2. Tetradrachm c.170 BC. London British Museum (LIMC IV, 678, no.154 a).

3. Coin of Samos with the representation of Hera. It is dated to the time of Caligula. (Fleischer, Taf.85 a).
4. Coin of Samos with Hera (Claudius). Bundessammlung Vienna 37628 (Fleischer, Taf.85 b)
5. Samian coin of the time of Ioulia Mamaea, with Hera. (BMC Ionia, pl.37, 5; Fleischer, Taf.87 a) (Fig.51).
6. Samian coin with the representation of Hera of the time of Commodus. (BMC Ionia, pl.37,2; Fleischer, Taf.86 b) (Fig.52).
7. Coin of the time of Hadrian (117-138 AD) (LIMC IV, 678, no.155).
8. Coin from Samos dated to the time of Gallienus with the representation of the patron goddess of the island. Bundessammlung, Vienna 18200 (Fleischer, Taf.88 a).
9. Coin of the time of Caracalla (212-217 AD) (BMC Ionia 376, 259; LIMC IV, 678, no.155).
10. Coin of the time of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD). Apart from Hera's cult-image the coin depicts the sun and the moon. (BMC Ionia 379, 276; LIMC IV, 678, no.155).

II COINS WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF HERA WITH PEACOCKS

1. Lucius Verus (161-169 AD) (SNG Copenhagen Ionia 1735; LIMC IV, 678, no. 156).
2. Septimius Severus (193-211 AD) (BMC Ionia 376, 256; LIMC IV, 678, no.156).

3. Caracalla (212-217 AD), the sun and moon are also represented (BMC Ionia 376, 260; LIMC IV 678, no.156).
4. Traianus Decius (249-251 AD) (BMC Ionia 387, 335; LIMC IV, 678, no.156).

III THE TYCHE OF SAMOS CARRYING A STATUETTE OF THE SAMIAN HERA

1. Traianus Decius (249-251 AD) (BMC Ionia 389, 343-45; LIMC IV, 678, no.157).
2. Etruscilla (SNG Copenhagen 1790; LIMC IV, 678, no.157).
3. Valerian 253-260 AD (BMC Ionia 393, 372; LIMC IV, 678, no.157).

IV HERA'S CULT-IMAGE WITH TWO CHILDREN PLAYING ASTRAGALS IN FRONT OF HER TEMPLE

1. Caracalla 198-217 AD. The sun and moon are also depicted. (SNG Copenhagen, Ionia 1742; LIMC IV, 678, no.158).
2. Saloninus 259-260 AD (BMC Ionia 391-396, pl.37, 18; LIMC IV, 678, no.158).

V HERA OF SAMOS WITH NEMESIS

1. Commodus 180-193 AD (BMC Ionia 374, 242, pl.37, 2; LIMC IV, 678, no.159).
2. Caracalla 198-217 AD (Lacroix, 1949: 210, n. 4; LIMC IV, 678, no.159).
3. Gallienus 253-268 AD (BMC Ionia 393, 373-75; LIMC IV, 678, no.159).

VI HERA'S CULT-IMAGE IN PROFILE, SOMETIMES STANDING ON THE PROW OF A SHIP

1. Autonomus coin c.20 BC-70 AD (BMC Ionia 370, 219.220, pl.36, 15; LIMC IV, 678, no.160).
2. Augustus 27 BC-14 AD (Lacroix, 1949: 207, n.3; LIMC IV, 678, no.160).
3. Caligula 37-41 AD (BMC Ionia 371, 226; LIMC IV, 678, no.160).
4. Claudius 41-54 AD. A ship's prow is also depicted. (BMC Ionia 371, 227; LIMC IV, 678, no.160).
5. Nero and Agrippina 54-68 AD (Lacroix, 1949: 207, n.6; LIMC IV, 678, no.160).

VII THE CULT-IMAGE OF HERA DEPICTED FRONTALLY IN A TETRASTYLE TEMPLE-LIKE STRUCTURE

1. Domitian 81-96 AD (BMC Ionia 372, 229; LIMC IV, 678, no.161).
2. Julia Domna (SNG Aulock 2307; LIMC IV, 678, no.161).
3. Severus Alexander 222-235 AD (BMC Ionia 379, 275; LIMC IV, 678, no.161).
4. Traianus Decius 249-251 AD (BMC Ionia 388, 336; LIMC IV, 678, no.161).
5. Valerian 253-260 AD (BMC Ionia 392-393.370; LIMC IV, 678, no.161).

E ARTEMIS OF BARGYLIA

1. Statuette of Artemis Kindyas of Bargylia in Piraeus Museum (Fleischer, Taf.89; LIMC II, 764, no.4) (Fig.54).

2. Coin of the time of Antiochos III with the representation of Artemis of Bargylia. (BMC Seleukid Kings of Syria, pl.8, 6; Fleischer, Taf.90 a; LIMC II, 764, no.1).
3. Coin with Artemis Kindyas of Bargylia (after 181 BC). (Jucker, 1967:Taf.49, 17; Fleischer, Taf.90 b).
4. Coin of the first century BC with the representation of Artemis of Bargylia. (BMC Caria, pl.11, 7; Fleischer, Taf.91 a).
5. Coin of Bargylia of the time of Titus with the representation of Artemis. (BMC Caria, pl.11, 9; Fleischer, Taf.91 b; LIMC II, 764, no.2).

F. ZEUS OF LABRAUNDA

1. Tegea relief BM 1914.7-14.1. Dated to 351-44 BC (Waywell, 1993; Fleischer, Taf.138) (Fig.38).
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. No.67.730 (Fleischer K 6).
3. Coin of the time of Mausolus with the representation of Zeus. (BMC Caria, pl.28, 3; Fleischer, Taf.142 a).
4. Cistophoros of Hadrian with Zeus of Labraunda. (SNG Aulock 14, Taf.226, 6616; Fleischer, Taf.142 b).
5. Coin from Mylasa with Zeus. (BMC Caria, pl.22, 5; Fleischer, Taf.143 a).

G. ZEUS OF EUROMOS

1. Coin of Euromos with the representation of Zeus of Lepsinos. It is dated to the time of Augustus. (BMC Caria, pl.17, 8; Fleischer, Taf.144 a).

5. ARCHAISTIC SCULPTURE FROM MAINLAND GREECE AND THE REST OF THE GREEK WORLD

Following the detailed consideration of the curled hairstyle in its Archaic and Archaistic manifestations in previous chapters, and the taste for Archaism evident in the cult-images of late Classical and Hellenistic Asia Minor, the purpose of this chapter is to review the evidence for Archaistic works from Mainland Greece and the rest of the Greek world during the late fifth and fourth centuries BC. This presents an overview of much discussed material, but it is necessary to consider the general background of Archaistic art during this period, so that the contribution of Ionian Archaistic works may be judged.

There are numerous examples from the fourth century, following on from the first indications of Archaism which appeared in Classical art in the last decades of the fifth century BC. Before starting a detailed examination of them, a short reference should be made to the Archaistic garments worn, since these are among the basic features for the identification of an Archaistic figure.

The commonest of all dresses in the Archaic period was the chiton and the short diagonal himation draped over it. This type of dress continued to be used in the Archaistic works. There were two methods of fastening the himation: 1) along the upper arm by buttons, and 2) on the shoulder only. The Archaistic chiton is usually rendered by crinkles which no longer represent the folds as in the Archaic period but instead convey the texture of the material.¹ The other important garment

1. Harrison, 1965: 51-52.

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is the peplos, which is now girdled on the overfold. This is a fashion which started in the first quarter of the fifth century BC. The Archaistic features of this kind of dress are the swallowtail pattern which is formed by the edges of the overfold, and the central pleat of the skirt. The Archaistic peplos is usually worn by deities. It is also very often used as an overgarment instead of the long himation with overfold.² The latter is the typical Archaistic garment. The main difference from the peplos is that it is fastened only on one shoulder,³

Garments like the himation and the chlamys are easily archaized by treating the draperies with zig-zags, swallowtails and pointed edges.⁴ Very common also is the use of the mantle as a shawl around the shoulders which usually ends in swallowtails. This is especially a feature of the Archaistic representations of Athena.

The two works which are considered to mark the beginning of the Archaistic style in the late fifth century are Alkamenes' Archaistic creations, Hermes Propylaios and Hekate Epipyrgidia, and these have been discussed at length above in chapter 2.

The various Archaistic works of the late fifth and fourth centuries BC are generally classified in four categories: a) coins, b) Panathenaic amphorae, c) representations of xoana, d) Archaistic korai. We shall begin our examination from these four categories and then continue with the rest of the works following a chronological order.

2. Harrison, 1965: 52, 53.

3. Harrison, 1965: 65.

4. Harrison, 1965: 58; Zagdoun, 1989: 21.

a. Coins

The Athenian tetradrachms of the fifth and early fourth centuries offer the example of the preservation of an Archaic type on coins of the Classical period (List 4, a 3) (Fig.55). They represent the head of Athena but not according to the fashion of the time. The rigid profile and the frontal eye are indicative of its Archaistic appearance. According to Mitchell-Havelock the engravers did not copy exactly the Archaic type. They tried to create their own version. In this way they preserved the type but not the style.⁵ The preservation of an Archaic type through Classical times is believed to be connected with the maintenance of the value of the currency. As Mitchell-Havelock pointed out, the introduction of a new type on the Athenian tetradrachms would have resulted in the devaluation of the currency.⁶ The preservation of the type, in other words, emphasised the continuity in the value of the currency in the following decades.

Another phenomenon which is also connected with coinage is the representation of cult-statues on coins of the Classical period. Although instances are limited, the representations of these idols are clearly Archaistic in appearance. An example of this type is given by the tetradrachms from Abdera (400-390 BC) which depict an Archaistic Artemis in frontal and profile views⁷ (List 4, a 1-2) (Figs.56 a-b).

Furthermore Thasos minted new coins in 412/11 BC after her revolt against her former ally, Athens. The new coins have on the obverse the bearded head of

5. Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 334.

6. Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 334.

7. Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 334.

Dionysos and on the reverse the representation of the kneeling Herakles shooting with his bow. (List 4, a 4) The Archaistic representation of the hero, mainly visible in the rendering of his muscular body with its emphasized contours, finds its prototype in an Archaistic relief. The relief adorned one of the gates of the wall circuit and it was a sort of blazon for the city.⁸

b. Panathenaic amphorae

The same need for the preservation of the original value led to the use of an Archaistic Palladion on the Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century BC. The Panathenaic amphorae, prizes for the winners of the Panathenaic games, had maintained a standard shape since the Archaic period with only gradual variations, and also a standard type in their decoration. This type, which consisted of a representation of a black-figured Athena on the obverse and the depiction of the event for which the amphora was the prize (also black-figured) on the reverse, remained unchanged during the Classical period.⁹ Athena is depicted in a striding pose to the left holding her shield with her left hand and her lance with the right. She is usually dressed in a sleeved chiton and peplos (although there are variations in her garments) and she also wears a helmet and the aegis.¹⁰

The development of the Panathenaic amphorae can be divided into three phases. The first one, which lasted until about 530 BC, is a phase of experimentation. The goddess is depicted in her usual Promachos pose (striding to the left holding shield

8. Seltman, 1933: 145, pl.29, 4.

9. Richter, 1935: 4.

10. Valavanis, 1991: 63, 64ff.

and lance). Some typical elements of the iconography of the Panathenaic vases were introduced during this period, and these are the columns which frame the image of Athena, the cocks on top of them and the inscription: "From the games of Athens".

The next phase covers the period from c.530 BC until the end of the fifth century BC. The important development during this period is that the different devices on Athena's shield signify the different workshops which were commissioned to make the Panathenaic vases. The images of Athena, on the other hand, continue to follow the tradition which was established in the previous phase.

At the turn of the fifth century significant changes occur. The cocks are replaced by representations of statues and the devices on Athena's shield no longer signify the different workshops. At this time the names of the Archons appear on the vases.¹¹

The most important phase for our purposes, however, is the third, the fourth century BC. In the first decades of this century the image retains the form which it had previously had. The years which mark the turn to something new are 363/2 BC and 360/59 BC when a new Archaistic image of Athena appears on the Panathenaic amphorae.¹²

The first indications of Archaistic representations of Athena Promachos had in fact appeared elsewhere in vase-painting in the late fifth century BC. On the neck of an oinochoe there is the representation of an Archaistic Athena (Agora Museum,

11. Bentz, 1998: 59.

12. Bentz, 1998: 59.

Inv.P.14793) (Fig.57). The oinochoe belongs to a group of vases of ceremonial character probably connected with the cult of Athena, which were discovered on the North slope of the Acropolis.¹³ The goddess, who turns to the right, is dressed in a chiton with overfall and a short mantle which hangs from her shoulders. The chiton is decorated with zig-zags while swallowtail patterns decorate both the chiton's folds and the ends of the mantle.¹⁴ It is dated c.420-419 BC.¹⁵ From the same group of vases comes also an oinochoe with an Archaistic Hermes on it (Agora Museum, Inv.P.15850). The god is depicted walking to the right and wearing a cloak, a petasos on his head and winged sandals. He is bearded and he wears his long hair in a knot at his nape. From this knot two long strands emerge one of which hangs over his shoulder.¹⁶

Returning to the Panathenaic amphorae, it is not until the year of the archonship of Charikleides (363/2 BC) that the first change towards an Archaistic image of Athena is observed. Although Athena preserves her previous striding pose to the left and still holds her lance and her shield, the treatment of her garments is different. The mantle with the swallowtails which had already been depicted on the oinochoe from the Agora just discussed, appears again in the representation of Athena on the Panathenaic vases of this particular year. From now on this will be one of the most typical of Archaistic features not only in vase-painting, but in sculpture too.¹⁷ Furthermore her garment is characterised by linearity and the

13. Green, 1962: 88, no.15, 92, 93; Zagdoun, 1989: 51, 226 no.18, pl.2, fig.6.

14. Green, 1962: 88 no.15.

15. Zagdoun, 1989: 50-51.

16. Green, 1962: 86 no.10.

17. Green, 1962: 86 no.10.

edges of the apoxygma and the skirt are turned outwards.¹⁸ Three years later in the archonship of Kalimedes (360/59 BC) we find two important innovations: Athena now turns to face the right, and she is depicted as a Palladion. With regard to the first innovation, the earliest instance of the goddess turning to the right is in the year of the Archon Charikleides (363/2 BC). There is only, however, a single example.¹⁹ From the year of Kalimedes (360/59 BC) onwards this becomes the new fashion, and the rightward turn of the goddess is found in most of the preserved examples. It is indicative that in the group of Panathenaic vases from that year, which was found at Eretria, five out of the six vases present the goddess facing to the right. Although she has retained her striding pose, the shield of the goddess is viewed from its interior and it has an elliptical shape.²⁰ The group of the Panathenaic vases from Eretria, just mentioned, actually proves that the fashion for the turn of Athena to the right was established in this particular year (360/59 BC). Before their discovery in 1969 this innovation was dated later to the 350s or 340s.²¹

Valavanis, in trying to explain the turn of the goddess to the right, suggested that it was related to the method of representing her shield (Fig.58). The depiction of the goddess to the left gave a full view of her shield and emphasized her war-like and protective character. This type, which was established during the Archaic period, was preserved in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC. In the passage of

18. Zagdoun, 1989: 53.

19. Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.024, pl.109.

20. Valavanis, 1991: 77.

21. 348/7 BC according to Schmidt, 1922: 11; 341 BC according to Green, 1962: 92; or between 359 and 348 BC according to Beazley, 1964: 90.

time, however, the goddess lost her war-like aspect, she became the peaceful patron of Democracy and of the arts, and the emphasis on the shield lost its meaning. Furthermore the desire of the vase-painters to explore the potential of perspective led them to picture the shield of the goddess in profile already from the year of Charikleides (363/2 BC). In other words the change in the character of the goddess and the preference of the vase-painters to depict the shield in oblique view led to the turning of the goddess to the right.²²

The second major change to occur in 360/59 BC is the representation of Athena as a Palladion. The goddess is depicted facing to the right with her legs close together holding her shield and her lance. Her garments are rendered in the same Archaistic way as was established three years before. Although this type was introduced in 360-59 BC it did not recur in later examples until the year 336/5 BC (archonship of Pythodelos) when two of the four preserved examples of that year depict the goddess as a Palladion. (Fig.59) (List 4, b, Pythodelos 2) The Palladion type, which Beazley named the "Hobble" type,²³ gives more emphasis to the Archaistic appearance of the goddess. It also resembles the representation of Archaic cult-images in the vase-painting (c.f. below section c).²⁴

In summary we may note that, after a long period of conservatism in the image of Athena on Panathenaic amphorae, a major change occurred in the second quarter of the fourth century BC, and particularly in the years 363/2 and 360/59 BC. During these years a new Archaistic representation of the goddess was introduced, which

22. Valavanis, 1991: 79-83.

23. Beazley, 1943: 460.

24. Valavanis, 1991: 77-79.

did not simply follow the tradition, but established a new way of depicting the goddess. This is clearly seen when we compare the Athenas on the vases of Polyzelos (366/5 BC) with the Archaistic Athenas on the vases of Charikleides three years later. Unfortunately no examples have been preserved from the years of Chion (365/4 BC) and Timokrates (364/3 BC) which might have shown how these initial changes were followed up.²⁵ The Archaistic form of the goddess is conveyed mainly by the treatment of her garments (pointed edges, mantle ending in swallowtails and the linearity of the garments). Then three years after the first innovations, Athena is represented in the form of the Palladion, also turned to the right, a form which she will retain in almost all the later examples.

It can be seen from these changes that the years between 363/2 BC and 360/59 BC were a period of experimentation for the vase-painters of Panathenaic amphorae. Valavanis, who studied the group of vases found in Eretria which belong to these two significant years, attributed them to some of the most important vase-painters of the fourth century BC, such as the Poutralés painter,²⁶ the Marsyas painter,²⁷ or the painter of Athens 12592.²⁸ He also proved that these vase-painters had made Panathenaic amphorae for other years too.²⁹ It seems then that major vase-painters of the fourth century BC were responsible for the changes that happened in the representation of the goddess. These changes offered a renovation

25. Valavanis, 1991: 74-5.

26. Valavanis, 1991: 262-68.

27. Valavanis, 1991: 268-286.

28. Valavanis, 1991: 286-292.

29. Valavanis, 1991: 248-260.

of the image of Athena within the long tradition of the Panathenaic vases, establishing a new type which incorporated the new developments in the Archaistic style of the fourth century BC. In that sense the vases offer good evidence for the time-frame of the establishment of the Archaistic style in Attic art of the fourth century BC.³⁰

Finally we should refer briefly to the question of whether the image of Athena on these vases derived from a representation of a cult-statue of the goddess. The variety in the depiction of her garments and of her attributes, as well as the changes which happened in her image during the fourth century BC, speak against the suggestion that they were influenced by a new cult-image.³¹

c. Representations of cult-images

The third category of Archaistic forms is the representation of cult-images in sculpture or in painting. These representations are mainly of Palladia especially in scenes from the Trojan War such as the rape of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes, the pursuit of Kassandra by Ajax or Helen by Menelaos. However there are representations of other deities too, as in the case of the Xenokrateia relief, as we shall see below.

Starting with the representations of the Palladia, a typical example of this form is found on an hydria by the Kleophrades painter with a scene of the violation of Kassandra.³² (List 4, c 1) In this scene Kassandra is taking refuge at the cult image

30. Valavanis, 1991: 74.

31. Bentz, 1998: 42.

32. Naples 2422: ARV 189, 74.

of Athena. The statue is represented wearing a cylindrical foldless peplos which contrasts with the rich folds of the garments of the "living" figures. The frontal eye of the goddess also emphasises the Archaic appearance of the figure (the rest of the figures have profile eyes).³³

Kleophrades' hydria is one of the first examples where the representation of the theme takes a new turn. In the Archaic period the main figures were Ajax and Athena. The goddess was not the lifeless statue of later times but a living person of the same proportions as Ajax, and Cassandra was depicted as a child-like figure between Athena and Ajax. With Kleophrades' vase a new tradition began, in which the main figures now were Ajax and Cassandra, while Athena was a statue standing on a base, lifeless and under-life-size.³⁴ An interesting suggestion has been made by Connelly that the vase-painters of the Archaic period were influenced by the representations of the goddess on the Panathenaic amphorae, whereas the painters of the red figure vases emphasised the role of Cassandra because they were especially interested in the episodes of the Trojan war.³⁵ During the fifth century Cassandra's story became a very popular theme, and this popularity can be explained by the context of the myth, which presents the effects of the war and its allusions to the Athenian past (i.e. Persian wars).³⁶

Another example, a few years later, is found on a cup by Makron which represents the rape of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes (St. Petersburg,

33. Fullerton, 1990: 57-8.

34. Connelly, 1993: 110, 111.

35. Connelly, 1993: 114.

36. Connelly, 1993: 121.

Hermitage 649; ARV 160, 13).³⁷ (List 4, c 2) This scene has a peculiar element in that two Palladia are being carried away. One is depicted in a similar fashion to the Palladion in the previous example, that is with the cylindrical foldless peplos, the other is shown dressed in an Archaic chiton and a short Ionic mantle.³⁸ This representation presents two interesting features, the first of which concerns the context of the story, namely that there were two Palladia taken from Troy. Fullerton, who follows Moret, has suggested that this was possibly an Attic version of the myth.³⁹ A similar representation of the story is seen on an amphora by the Tyszkiewicz painter of the same period (Stockholm 1963; ARV 1643, 33).⁴⁰ The second interesting feature is the way in which the two Palladia are represented. The Palladion on the right is dressed in the same foldless cylindrical peplos as Athena on Kleophrades' hydria which recalls mid-Archaic works, whereas the statuette on the left wears a chiton and a diagonal himation in the fashion of the late Archaic period.⁴¹ The most frequently represented type was the former.

Another example from early Classical vase-painting is found on a volute crater by the Niobid painter.⁴² (List 4, c 3) The scene depicts the familiar subject of the violation of Cassandra. In the middle of the scene among the other "living" figures stands the statue of Athena on its base. As in the previous examples she is dressed in the foldless, cylindrical peplos holding her lance and her shield.⁴³ More

37. Fullerton, 1990: 58, n.56.

38. Fullerton, 1990: 57-8.

39. Fullerton, 1982: 44, n.10; Moret, 1975: 72.

40. Fullerton, 1982: 44, n.11.

41. Fullerton, 1982: 45.

42. Bologna 268, ARV 598, 1.

43. Boardman, 1978: 14, fig.1.

representations of this kind can be found on vases of other painters of the time, such as the Altamura painter (CVA Louvre 2, III, Id, pl.4, 2-3) (List 4, c 4), the Aithiopian painter (ARV 464) (List 4, c 5) and the Genf Painter (ARV430) (List 4, c 6). Archaistic Palladia are also depicted on two vases which represent the pursuit of Helen, an oinochoe in the Vatican (FR 170/1) (List 4, c 7) and a phiale of the Kodros painter (ARV 740.10) (List 4, c 8).⁴⁴

Examples of Palladia exist not only in vase-painting but also in sculpture of the fifth century BC. On two Classical reliefs, one Melian and one from Tarentum, representations of Archaistic Palladia appear.⁴⁵ Cult-statues are also depicted on three of the Parthenon metopes. On the north metope (N 25) there is represented the scene, well-known from vase-painting, of Menelaos pursuing Helen, although Menelaos is not shown on this metope but on the adjacent one. (List 4, c 9) On the left side is a standing female dressed in a chiton and a long himation, probably Aphrodite since a small Eros flies over her right shoulder. Another woman, dressed in a peplos, who is likely to be Helen, walks towards a xoanon on the right side of the metope, seeking protection from Menelaos' rage. The xoanon is rendered in an Archaistic fashion like the Archaic korai⁴⁶ (Fig. 60).

The second metope, South 21, is known to us only from Carrey's drawings and reconstructed fragments. (List 4, c 10) It seems to belong to a composition depicting a Centauromachy. Most of the scholars who have studied the scene

44. Dohrn, 1957: 49.

45. Dohrn, 1957: 49.

46. Berger, 1986: 38-9.

agree on its representation of two women who run towards a xoanon seeking protection from the Centaurs who chase them. There are different opinions as to the identification of the xoanon. For some scholars it is the cult-image of Athena, for others that of Artemis or even Hera.⁴⁷

A third metope and probably the most significant one, is South 18.⁴⁸ (List 4, c 11) This metope is known only from Carrey's drawings and no fragments of it have been preserved. On the left side of the metope there is an under-life-size female figure, depicted in profile, probably a cult-image, who is wearing a chiton and a diagonal himation both rendered in the Archaistic fashion. Two larger female figures who run towards the right were also rendered with Archaistic features in their drapery (Fig.61).

Simon has interpreted the two female figures as Aidos and Nemesis. The two goddesses are leaving the earth because of Ixion's hybris (according to Simon it is Ixion's story which is depicted on the previous metopes). The Archaism of the figures is explained by the significance of the two goddesses as "ancient deities".⁴⁹

Robertson on the other hand explains the scene as a part of Daidalos' story. The smaller figure is Ariadne's nurse and the two larger figures are dancers. Although he differs in the explanation of the scene, he also stresses the Archaistic character of the figures.⁵⁰

The same motif is also depicted some years later on the frieze of the temple of

47. Berger, 1986: 92-3 (who discusses different opinions among scholars).

48. I would like to kindly thank Dr. A. Mantis for drawing my attention to metope South 18.

49. Simon, 1975: 113-14.

50. Robertson, 1984: 207.

Apollo at Bassai. (List 4, c 12) The frieze which decorated the upper part of the interior of the sekos is divided into two subjects, Centauromachy and Amazonomachy. On the part where the Centauromachy is depicted we have the scene of a woman who is dragged by a Centaur from the base of a xoanon. The xoanon which is shorter than the rest of the figures is depicted frontally and in a rigid pose. It seems to be influenced by representations of Hekate, since it is dressed in a similar fashion, wearing a girdled peplos the overfold of which forms an inverted V with zig-zag border. She has been interpreted as Artemis and her appearance is an indication, according to Fullerton, that the Archaistic peplos was already established by the end of the fifth century BC as a garment suitable for the representation of a xoanon.⁵¹ The frieze is usually dated around 420-400 BC.

A number of examples of xoana are to be found on sculptures dated in the fourth century. The first one is on a votive relief, the so-called Xenokrateia relief (Athens NM 2756) of c.390 BC (Fig.23) (List 4, c 13). The scene presents a group of deities and heroes standing in front of Apollo who is seated at the left on a tripod throne. Towards the right end a female xoanon is shown standing in frontal pose. Although it is smaller in proportion than the rest of the figures it rises higher than them, which is an indication that it stands on a base. Its smaller size, the polos on its head, its rigidity and its frontality mark it out as a xoanon. It has been identified as Kallirrhoe.⁵² Another point of interest concerning the xoanon is its

51. Fullerton, 1982: 49.

52. Mitchell-Havelock, 1980: 41-50.

similarity with the representations of Hekataia. Although it cannot be identified as a representation of Hekate, as Eckstein believed, still it is possible that in its form it followed a statue of that goddess and most likely Alkamenes' well-known creation of Hekate Epipyrgidia on the Athenian Acropolis⁵³ (cf. above, chapter 2).

There are two representations of Palladia among the pedimental sculptures of the Argive Heraion, dating to the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The first one (G) (Fig. 62) is a fragmentary female xoanon, dressed in the Archaistic chiton and diagonal himation. (List 4, c 14) A strand of hair hangs down on to the shoulder of the figure. The xoanon was embraced by a second figure of which only a part of the hand is preserved on the back of the idol. The second xoanon (H) is smaller than the first. (List 4, c 14) It is also partially preserved (only a part of the upper torso) and wears the Archaic cylindrical foldless peplos. There are again traces of hair locks on the shoulder of the xoanon, and it is also embraced by a second figure from which only a part of the hand is preserved.⁵⁴ According to Eichler both of these xoana belonged to the West pediment of the Argive Heraion which represented the Ilioupersis. Group (G) probably showed Helen seeking refuge at the statue of Aphrodite, while in group (H) Cassandra was embracing the Palladion.⁵⁵

The xoana were not rendered in the same fashion. As in the case of the two Palladia on Makron's cup, one (G) was dressed in the Archaic chiton and the

53. Eckstein, 1965: 33.

54. Linfert, 1967: 154-55; Simon, 1985: 276; Eckstein, 1965: 104.

55. Eichler, 1919: 30-1, 31-2.

diagonal himation, while the other (H) wore the foldless peplos. In Makron's cup this distinction in the appearance of the two Palladia was possibly deliberate in order to emphasise the antiquity of the peplos-Palladion in contrast to the chiton-Palladion which perhaps was a false one.⁵⁶ We might have a similar case in the Argive Heraion. Figure (H) which, according to Eichler, represented the Palladion in the story of Cassandra was probably older than the statue in Helen's story. It might have been the intention of the artist to indicate the difference in the antiquity of the two xoana by depicting the Palladion wearing the older peplos.

The same method of representation is found also, a few years later, in one of the pediments of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (c.375 BC). The pediment represents a scene from the capture of Troy. The xoanon which survives has on its back the traces of a hand from the figure who had grabbed it, probably Cassandra in her attempt to take refuge under the protection of the goddess. The xoanon is dressed in a sleeved chiton and a mantle with diagonal overfold. It also wears an aegis with a gorgoneion in relief. The folds on the chiton's sleeves are rendered in wavy lines and they are quite shallow. On the mantle they are wide and flat and they are rendered in vertical lines which end in a symmetrical zig-zag on the front. Two long locks are hanging on to each shoulder⁵⁷ (Fig.63) (List 4, c 15).

An important dated example of a xoanon is seen on a treaty relief between Athens and Neapolis in northern Greece (Thrace) (Athens, NM 1480) (Fig.64) (List 4, c 16). It is firmly assigned to 356/5 BC, in the ninth Prytany of the year of Elpines.

56. Eichler, 1919: 96-7, 97-8.

57. Yalouris, 1992: 25, no.13.

This decree, which is the response to an embassy from Neapolis, honoured two envoys from Neapolis, Demosthenes and Dioskourides, whose names are mentioned in the heading.⁵⁸ The two patron goddesses of the cities (Athena for Athens and Parthenos for Neapolis) are depicted shaking hands as an indication of the treaty between the two cities.⁵⁹ While Athena is rendered in the contemporaneous fashion, Parthenos is shown in Archaistic form. She is shorter than Athena and she is wearing a polos. Her peplos is girdled and has a central pleat. Her skirt ends in two pointed edges. The Neapolitan goddess is identified as Parthenos from an inscription right above her image. This inscription is also Archaistic like the image of the goddess.⁶⁰ The sculptor probably represented an actual Archaic cult-image of the goddess of Neapolis.

The same goddess also appeared on an earlier decree (410/9) between Athens and Neapolis. Only a part of her right foot has been preserved. It shows that the rendering of the figure at this time was according to the fashion of the time.⁶¹ Parthenos of Neapolis is also depicted wearing a polos on her head on coins of the area.⁶² According to Meyer the image of Parthenos follows a type which was used for representations of Hekate. If it were not for the inscription, it would be difficult to identify her.⁶³

58. Lawton, 1995: 95, no.28.

59. Mitchell-Havelock, 1965: 334, pl.74, fig.7.

60. Lawton, 1995: 95, no.28.

61. Lawton, 1995: 50.

62. Lawton, 1995: 95, no.28.

63. Meyer, 1989: 195-96.

d. Archaistic korai

The first Archaistic korai are believed to appear in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. According to Langlotz there is a fragmentary kore from the Acropolis (Inv.3720 and 355) which is Archaistic and dated in the late fifth century BC. (List, d 1) The kore was a basin-bearer. She is dressed in a chiton and a short Ionic himation, the typical Archaistic garments.⁶⁴ The skirt, as in many Archaistic works, has a central pleat with emerging catenaries.⁶⁵

Two more Archaistic korai come from the Athenian Agora (S 215, S 2119).⁶⁶ The first one is dated in the late fifth century BC and was found near the Areopagus. (List 4, d 2) The kore is dressed in the thin chiton with buttoned sleeves and a border around the neck. She was probably holding her garment with the right hand in the fashion of the Archaic korai.⁶⁷ The second kore comes from the area of the Eleusinion and she is dated to the first half of the fourth century BC (Fig.65) (List 4, d 3). This kore was probably a part of a perirrhanterion, like the above discussed Acropolis kore. She was dressed in the typical Archaistic garments, the chiton and the diagonal himation. Unfortunately the state of the preservation does not permit us to ascertain whether there was a short or a long diagonal himation.⁶⁸

From the same area comes a fragment of another kore (Agora S 2176) (List 4, d

64. Langlotz in Schrader, 1924: 145-46, no.138, figs.110-111.

65. Fullerton, 1982: 61.

66. Harrison, 1965: nos.111, 123.

67. Harrison, 1965: 73, no.123, pl.25.

68. Harrison, 1965: 51-2, 68-9, no.111, pl.23.

4). It is only a part of a shoulder but one can distinguish the chiton and the diagonal himation of the kore as well as the locks which hang on to her shoulders. The similarities in the treatment of the garments as well as the rendering of the shoulder locks suggested to Brahms that it formed a pair with Agora S 2119.⁶⁹

Another Archaistic kore which was also a basin-bearer is the Laurion kore (Athens NM 74) (List 4, d 5). The work, which is of a very high quality, is dated in the first half of the fourth century BC.⁷⁰ She is dressed in a chiton and a long diagonal himation with overfold. As in the Archaistic Hekataia the skirt has a central pleat with emerging catenaries.⁷¹ Although Fullerton in his thesis of 1982 accepted the dating of the kore in the fourth century BC, in an article of 1986 he proposed a dating in Roman times.⁷² Brahms, however, in her thesis replied to Fullerton's arguments by supporting a dating in the fourth century BC because of stylistic and historical reasons, an attribution which seems quite plausible.⁷³ The Laurion kore, together with the above-mentioned two works, Acropolis 3720+355 and Agora S 2119, stands at the beginning of a long row of Archaistic perrirhanteria. Furthermore the three korai share the same pattern of crinkly folds in the rendering of their garments.⁷⁴

e. Other Archaistic works of the late fifth and fourth centuries BC

Apart from the above-mentioned categories there are some other works of

69. Brahms, 1994: 216, nn.938, 939, 940.

70. Harrison, 1965: 51-2; Fullerton, 1982: 60-1.

71. Harrison, 1965: 51-2; Fullerton, 1982: 60-1.

72. Fullerton, 1986: 212ff.

73. Brahms, 1994: 209-212.

74. Harrison, 1965: 51-2.

Archaistic art of the fifth and fourth centuries BC which are not included in those categories. Many of these works present problems in their dating. In order to study this material we shall divide the works into two sub-categories: I) works with certain or likely dating in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, and II) works of uncertain date. To this latter category belong those pieces about which there is disagreement or uncertainty as to whether they date in the fourth century BC or later in Hellenistic and Roman times.

I) Archaistic works with a certain or likely date in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC

A relief from Thasos comes from the W gate of the city and probably represents Hera. (List 4, e I 1) The relief is badly weathered and the details are not easily distinguished. It has the form of a naiskos. On the left side of the relief is depicted a female figure sitting on a throne and facing to the right. She is dressed in a long garment, which is fastened on the right shoulder and it has a double diagonal ruffle, which resembles that of the long diagonal mantle.⁷⁵ The fold of the garment and the central pleat recall, according to Dohrn, the Archaic korai.⁷⁶ The left hand is outstretched and holds a sceptre while her right arm is raised. She rest her feet on a foot-stool. A small figure, represented between the legs of the throne, is probably a silenos. On the right side of the relief stands a female winged figure, who is depicted turning her head backwards, with her upper torso frontal

75. Brahms, 1994: 291; Herdejürgen, 1968: 78.

76. Dohrn, 1957: 70.

and her legs in profile to the left. It is not easy to distinguish the kind of garment she is wearing.⁷⁷

The W gate of Thasos, to which the relief belongs has various phases of construction and renovation. The first belongs to the Archaic period the second one to the end of the fifth century BC, and the third one to the fourth century BC. The relief under discussion probably dates to the end of the fifth century BC. The Archaisms can be found in the rendering of the garments of the seated woman, the double diagonal ruffle and the central pleat, as well as in the rendering of the wings of the second figure. Opposite the relief under discussion there is another one which represents two male figures, one seated and one standing, who can be identified as Zeus and Hermes. This relief, however, has no Archaistic traces. The stylistic features of both reliefs point to a date at the end of the fifth century BC. They probably belong to c.412/11 BC, a time when, according to Thucydides, the Thasians renewed the wall circuit of their city.⁷⁸ At the same time the oligarchs took control of the city and Thasos abandoned the Athenian League. The Archaisms on the gate relief can perhaps be interpreted as a reaction to the Athenian Classical art and an emphasis on their own tradition.⁷⁹ As mentioned above (section a) in 412/11 BC the Thasians minted new coins with an Archaistic Herakles. Brahms' suggestion for a dating in 389/8 BC, when Thasos rejoined the

77. Brahms, 1994: 291.

78. Dohrn, 1957: 50.

79. Brahms, 1994: 86-7.

Athenian League, and the interpretation of the seated figure as Athena instead of Hera, seems unlikely.⁸⁰ The minting of the new coins in 412/11 BC with the Archaistic representations of Herakles seems a strong indication for a turn towards Archaism.

A further example from Thasos is the grave-stele of Philis in the Louvre (Cat.somm.(1922) 46, 766), where an Archaistic treatment can be found in the hairstyle of the figure which resembles that of Hermes Propylaios in the rendering of the forehead hair in rows of curls.⁸¹ (List 4, e I 2)

The base from Epidauros (Athens NM 1425) has been much discussed (Fig.66). (List 4, e I 3) Although it is often called a base, it has also been characterised as an altar, a balustrade or an architectural member.⁸² We shall continue to call it a base since this is how it is more often referred to in the bibliography. The base depicts on one of the small sides a female figure in Archaistic rendering, in both garments and pose, approaching a gathering of gods on the frontal long side who are represented in the fashion of the fourth century BC. The Archaistic female, who is depicted in profile to the left with her upper torso in three quarters view, is dressed in a chiton and a diagonal himation with a long apoptygma which ends in pointed edges and is decorated with a central pleat. A short mantle, which ends in swallowtails, is wrapped around her arms. In her raised right hand she holds an oinochoe. Three long tresses hang down on to her shoulder. The male figure on

80. Brahms, 1994: 87-8.

81. Dohrn, 1975: 49.

82. Ridgway, 1997: 209.

the front is shown seated on a throne and facing outwards, while the female is depicted frontally and is dressed in a chiton and himation.

The back of the base has traces of attachment to another block. There is in the National Museum a block (Ridgway names it block B) which consists of two parts and is very weathered. It has been suggested that this block was attached to the back of NM 1425. Although it is very weathered, it probably represented a gathering of gods as on NM 1425. As for the gods represented, it is possible that the identities on NM 1425 are Asklepios and Hygieia on the front (and not Zeus and Hera as was originally suggested), and Hebe in Archaistic dress on the short side. The figures on the other block are not easily identifiable because of the bad state of preservation.⁸³

It is interesting to compare in this particular work the way in which the artist has combined contemporary modelled and Archaistic figures. In Lehmann's study of the Samothracian frieze the base has been classified in a group of works which present the same combination and are claimed to be influenced by the Samothracian frieze, a work which will be examined below.

The base is dated by her a decade later than the frieze, to about 330 BC.⁸⁴ Harrison shares the same opinion about the dating of the monument. She points out that Hebe is dressed like the Samothracian dancers, but notes that her garment is represented in a manner which reminds us of the Panathenaic amphorae of 330s,

83. Ridgway, 1997: 209.

84. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 312.

especially the way in which an extra point in the front part of the figure is rendered.⁸⁵ The same comparison with Panathenaic amphorae of the second half of the fourth century BC is also made by Ridgway. According to her a dating in the second half of the century is supported by the style of the other figures of the base.⁸⁶ Schmidt, however, thought that the figure of Hebe derived from the figures of the Four Gods base which he dated c.370 BC, favouring a date about twenty years later for the Epidauros base around 350 BC.⁸⁷

Brahms suggested a similar date, around the middle of the century, comparing the figures on the front with works from about that time. The goddess on the front recalls according to Brahms the figure on the right of the small side of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, while the quality in the treatment of the folds is similar to that found on the decorated column drum from the Artemision at Ephesos (BM 1206; Fig. 76). Furthermore the pose of Asklepios resembles one of the figures on the grave stele from Piraeus (Athens NM 726), while the isolation of the figure recalls the Muses on the Mantinea base.⁸⁸

As for the Archaistic Hebe the long pointed edge of her apoptygma and her short mantle with the swallowtails bring to mind the representations of Athena on the Panathenaic vases of the mid-fourth century BC.⁸⁹

In the present author's view the figure of Hebe almost certainly derives from the figures of the Four Gods base as Schmidt noticed (cf. below, part II). The style of

85. Harrison, 1965: 55.

86. Ridgway, 1997: 211.

87. Schmidt, 1922: 29, 30.

88. Brahms, 1994: 94

89. Brahms, 1994: 95.

her garments and her striding pose nearly on tip-toe present us with features of a more advanced Archaistic style. The same figure also shows similarities with the Athenas on the Panathenaic amphorae of the middle of the century since the long pointed edges and the mantle with the swallowtails can also be found in examples of these years. For this reason I subscribe to the view already argued by Schmidt and Brahms, supporting a date around the middle of the century or soon afterwards, and not as late as the 330s. A comparison with the dry and exaggerated style of the Samothracian dancers proves, I think, that Hebe is dated before them and not after (cf. Figs. 66 and 71).

In 1973 there were found in the demos of Euonymos two statues of Dionysos, which are still unpublished. (List 4, e I 4) They are both standing statues of the god with the right foot slightly advanced. They are dressed in chiton and the long diagonal himation, which is fastened on the left shoulder and covers the left arm. The rendering of the mantle on the left side as it falls in two long segments resembles, according to Brahms, the swallowtail edges on the representation of Athena on the Panathenaic vases. The mantle is tightly wrapped around the legs and forms a central, broad pleat, from which bow-like folds spread out across the limbs. This arrangement of folds can also be found on the hekataia of the fourth century BC. Furthermore the proportions of their bodies with the high placed waist and the broad hips confirm a dating at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BC.⁹⁰

90. Brahms, 1994: 240.

Another work of the fourth century BC which is probably related to the Samothracian frieze (cf. below) is the frieze with Erotes from the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the North slope of the Athenian Acropolis. (List 4, e I 5 Fig. 67) The frieze which is composed of two slabs (Athens, NM 1451-1452) represents Erotes with oinochoe held out in their right hands walking towards the left. The similarity with the Samothracian frieze lies in the "chain" arrangement of the line of figures, and this is where the Archaism of the composition lies too.⁹¹ A similar arrangement can also be found on the so-called "Atarbos base" from the Acropolis (Acropolis 1338) which shows a line of men dancing the Pyrrhichios. (List 4, e I 6) The frieze of Erotes is possibly contemporary with the Samothracian frieze or, according to Williams-Lehmann, just after it, which conveniently makes the Samothracian example a predecessor of the Athenian relief.⁹²

Another fourth century example comes from the island of Paros. It is a marble statuette which was dedicated at the sanctuary of Delian Artemis as the inscription on its base confirms. (List 4, e I 7) The goddess stands erect with her feet close together. She is dressed in a high-girdled peplos, the edge of the apoptygma of which has the form of an inverted V. She is also wearing a polos on her head, from under which a veil hangs down. Long locks of hair fall on to her shoulders.

Kleeman who has studied the statuette compares it with a figure from the treaty

91. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 241.

92. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 241.

relief of 362/61 BC⁹³ and the so-called Demeter from the Grimani Collection which is also dated c.360/50 BC. The common feature between them is the height of the girdling.⁹⁴ The Artemis statuette, however, is damaged in the area of the girdling so it is not very easy to distinguish precisely how high this came. The rendering of the folds on the breast points to a somewhat higher girdling than that suggested by Kleeman. Furthermore the pyramidal form of the body, the treatment of the facial features and the deeply set eyes support a rather later date and specifically one in the second half of the fourth century BC, which can be confirmed also by the form of the inscription.⁹⁵

The artist has successfully blended the Archaistic elements (girdled peplos, polos, shoulder locks) with the Classical rendering of the figure. The outcome is so harmonious that Kleeman suggested that the statuette is not truly Archaistic.⁹⁶ The Archaistic elements, however, are definitely there and the type of the statue resembles the Archaistic Hekataia. Accordingly it is appropriate to list it among the Archaistic works of the fourth century BC.⁹⁷

A similar figure appears on a relief now in Berlin (Staatliche Museen Inv.690). The relief depicts a cave, on top of which in the middle sits Pan playing a syrinx, with a goat and a dog nearby. (List 4, e I 8) A bearded mask hangs on the left side of the cave. Inside it on the right side there is a female figure who stands frontally

93. Lawton, 1995: 94, no.24, pl.13.

94. Kleeman, 1962: 219, pls.61,2, 62, 1.

95. Brahms, 1994: 192-93.

96. Kleeman, 1962: 223.

97. Brahms, 1994: 193.

with legs together and the forearms raised. She is dressed in a peplos, rendered in an Archaistic way, which is girdled under the breasts. On her head she wears a polos, from under which hangs a veil. On the left side stands a man dressed in a short chiton and chlamys. He is depicted somewhat smaller than the female figure. In his right hand he is holding an oinochoe. A large hound sits between them while another one is depicted on the left. In the background there is the representation of a small Hekate-statue holding two torches. The relief is dated c.330-20 BC.⁹⁸

Archaistic elements are seen also on a treaty relief dated to the late fourth century which was found in 1959 in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. (List 4, e I 9) Only the lower part of the relief panel is preserved together with the start of the inscribed text. Although the content of the inscription is not known, there is sufficient in the heading to assign it to the year 321/320 BC (Archonship of Archippos). The partially preserved figured scene shows the lower part of the legs and the feet of the female figure, who is depicted in profile to the left, and a part of a large dolphin. Both the pose and the dress of the figure are Archaistic. The garment has the central pleat which can be found on most Archaistic garments and the edges of the peplos or the himation were rendered in the familiar zig-zag folds. She was probably the patron goddess of a city or a person or a cult and the dolphin was probably one of her attributes. A similar representation of an Archaistic figure on a decree relief is seen earlier on the treaty relief of 356/55 BC (discussed above)

98. Brahms, 1994: 193-94.

between Athens and Neapolis.⁹⁹

Two final examples come from a different medium, that of painting. One is the representation of an Archaistic xoanon on the long side of one of the two funerary couches from a tomb at Potidaia in Macedonia. (List 4, e I 10) The figure is on the right side of the first frieze of the first couch. It is the xoanon of a female deity represented in profile and standing on a base. She is dressed in a chiton and himation with overfold. She is wearing a polos on her head and she is holding a phiale. The couch is dated in the second half of the fourth century BC (Thessaloniki Museum, 9747).¹⁰⁰

The other example has a Persian link. On the short side of the Alexander sarcophagus there is a court scene painted on the interior of the shield of one of the Persians. The scene shows the Persian king sitting on his throne and receiving an attendant. The way the garments are rendered shows clear traces of Archaism.¹⁰¹ (List 4, e I 11)

II. Works of uncertain date

The works we have examined so far have a more or less certain date in the late fifth or fourth centuries BC. To the present category belong works about which there is a debate among scholars as to whether they date in the fourth century BC or to later times. Since there are no other indications for their dating such as the excavation context, inscriptions, literary references or similar, suggestions have to be made on

99. Lawton, 1995: 106-7, pl.27, fig.52.

100. Sismanidis, 1997: 43, pls.4b, 11, 17b.

101. Boardman, 1994: 48.

stylistic grounds, which is a process that tends to be highly subjective. A series of the significant works of this category will now be presented, with brief discussion of the different views on their dating, and an indication of the preferred solution.

A round altar, which was found in Brauron, and is now in the Museum there has been reconstructed from twenty-eight fragments. (List 4, e II 1) Many of these have their surface badly weathered which makes it difficult to distinguish the figures. The altar depicts a scene from a myth of Dionysos rendered mainly in the Archaistic style. On the left side stands a female figure who holds a flower in a mannered gesture. She can be identified from the inscription above her as Eirene. Next to her is depicted a bearded Dionysos who carries the thyrsos and who can also be identified by an inscription. In front of him walks Hermes who is naked apart from the chlamys. Next to him is represented a seated female figure dressed in a chiton and a himation. Her head is depicted in profile to the right and her upper torso is frontal. With her right hand she reaches to her hair while she brings her left hand to her chest in a gesture similar to that of Eirene. Part of another female figure is preserved only in the area of the hips. All the figures so far mentioned are represented in the Archaistic style. In the scene there was one more female, also fragmentarily preserved, who was, however, dressed in the contemporary fashion. The only Archaistic feature on this figure is the rendering of the locks of hair on her shoulders. In addition to these figures there were also represented one other naked man and a figure of Leto, as confirmed by her

inscribed name.¹⁰²

Since the fragments of the altar come from a church and an old house, there is no indication of their original date from their find context. Fuchs argued for a late fifth century dating from the figure who is inscribed as Eirene and from the partially preserved peplos figure, whom he interpreted as Theoria because of the two letters which are preserved next to her. He suggested that the two figures are a reference to Aristophanes' play "Eirene" which was staged in 421 BC,¹⁰³ and dates the altar soon after that. Furthermore he has associated the altar with Kallimachos' workshop.¹⁰⁴ Zagdoun also shares the same opinion.¹⁰⁵

Brahms on the other hand believes that the altar presents a mixture of Archaistic elements of the fourth century BC and features of the Rich style, and that this indicates a date in the second century BC.¹⁰⁶ However, the Archaistic features which Brahms mentions as belonging to the fourth century BC can also be found in the late fifth century BC. The zig-zag rendering of the edges of the himation which according to Brahms first appear on the Four Gods base (cf. below)¹⁰⁷ can also be found in the treatment of the short mantle which hangs from the shoulders of Athena on the oinochoe P 14793 from the Athenian Agora which is dated c. 420-410 BC. As for the rendering of the folds on the chiton of the seated figure, which according to Brahms recalls the Athena from the Four Gods base (cf. below),¹⁰⁸ it

102. Brahms, 1994: 236-37.

103. Fuchs-Vikelas, 1985: 47.

104. Fuchs-Vikelas, 1985: 46-7.

105. Zagdoun, 1989: 154f.

106. Brahms, 1994: 237-38.

107. Brahms, 1994: 237f.

108. Brahms, 1994: 238.

can also be found on the female figure of the altar of Hermes Kriophoros the original of which probably dates back in the fifth century BC (cf. below). For these reasons I would cautiously follow the dating which was suggested by Fuchs and Vikelas and place the altar in the last twenty years of the fifth century BC.

The type of Dionysos preserved in later copies, and known as the “Dionysos Braschi”, comes, according to Zagdoun, from Kallimachos’ workshop,¹⁰⁹ an attribution with which Willers does not seem to agree.¹¹⁰ The god is depicted wearing a chiton and an animal’s skin. In his extended right hand he was probably holding a thyrsos. The typical Archaistic middle fold between the legs appears here too. The beard of the god was also rendered in an Archaistic way as fragments show, while Archaistic locks were hanging on to his shoulders.¹¹¹ (List, e II 2)

There are many suggestions as to the dating of the original.¹¹² One of the best copies, however, that of the Frascati Dionysos (Frascati, Palazzo Minicipale), points to an origin in the late fifth century BC. The high girdling of the chiton as well as the “soft” treatment of the mantle may be considered, with Brahms, to support a date of this time. Another indication could be the similarity between the treatment of the lower part of the copies and the Hekataia in the British School and the Agora.¹¹³

109. Zagdoun, 1989: 152.

110. Willers, 1975: 64.

111. Willers, 1975: 64.

112. Fullerton, 1990: 142f; Brahms, 1994: 235, n.1020.

113. Brahms, 1994: 235-36.

Another work is a rectangular marble altar which represents Hermes carrying a ram (Hermes Kriophoros), and an Archaistic goddess, probably Aphrodite, who is also depicted on one of the short sides (Athens NM 54) (Fig.68a-b) (List 4, e II 3). The preserved height of the altar is 0.79-0.80 m. Originally there were representations on the three sides of the altar. Hermes is represented on the long frontal side and the goddess on the right side, while the figure on the left side is now destroyed. Both of the preserved sides are decorated on the upper part with a floral pattern.

Hermes is represented walking towards the right and carrying a ram on his shoulders. He holds with both hands the legs of the ram while in his left he also holds a small kerykeion. The god is depicted naked apart from a short mantle which hangs from his left shoulder. His torso is depicted in three-quarter view while the rest of his body and his head is in profile. The rendering of his facial features with the frontal eye and the smiling mouth as well as the pointed beard emphasize the Archaistic appearance of the god. The rendering of the hairstyle is also Archaistic, the hair being gathered in a krobylos at the back of the head while a long strand hangs on to his right shoulder. The front hair is arranged into three rows of tight curls.

The goddess, possibly Aphrodite, is depicted walking to the right while she is turning her head backwards. Her state of preservation is not as good as Hermes. We can distinguish, however, some of her facial features and the arrangement of her garments. She is dressed in a crinkled chiton and a diagonal himation which is arranged in a rich ruffle across her chest. With her left hand she is lifting her veil

which covers her head, and two long locks of hair hang on to her chest and her back. On her forehead she is wearing a diadem. Her face is quite damaged but we can distinguish the frontal eye and the long, straight nose.

There are different opinions as to the dating of this altar. Schmidt dates it in the middle of the fifth century BC¹¹⁴ and Karousou in the second half of the same century.¹¹⁵ Herdejürgen suggested a date in the fourth century BC¹¹⁶ while Harrison dates it in the Augustan period.¹¹⁷ She has based her suggestion on the similarities between the floral pattern on the upper part of the altar and a similar pattern from the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian Agora.¹¹⁸ Becatti on the other hand supports a dating in the transitional period between the Archaic and the Severe styles.¹¹⁹

The comparison of the two figures with Archaistic examples of the late fifth century BC and especially with the Archaistic representations of Athena and Hermes on a series of oinochoai from the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis (cf. above), suggests a date at the end of the fifth century.¹²⁰ The similarities in the anatomy of the figures as well as in their rigid profiles lend support to this date.

However, the floral pattern at the top of the altar finds its parallel only in later examples. As mentioned above Harrison pointed out the similarity with the floral

114. Schmidt, 1922: 57.

115. Karousou, 1969: 43, no. 54.

116. Herdejürgen, 1968: 79f., pl. 14 a.

117. Harrison, 1965: 82, n.96.

118. Thompson, 1950: 67, fig. 11, pl. 47 a.

119. Becatti, 1941: 33.

120. Harl-Schaler, 1972: 249-50.

pattern from the scene of Agrippa's Odeion in the Athenian Agora.¹²¹ While this suggestion down-dates our example to the Augustan period, the rendering of the figures does resemble works of the late fifth century, which possibly suggests that, although the altar is a work of Augustan times, it copies a late fifth century original.

The Four gods base is a rectangular, altar-like block which was found in 1857 on the east side of the Parthenon (Acropolis 610) (Fig.69 a-d) (List 4, e II 4). On each of its four sides it is decorated with the relief representation of a god, respectively Athena, Zeus, Hephaistos and Hermes.

Athena is depicted in profile to the left, but of her upper torso, head and left arm only the contours are preserved. The lower body and the head are in profile to the left, the upper torso is rendered in three quarters view. The right leg is advanced. The heels of both of her feet are slightly raised. The right arm is bent at the elbow and she is holding her lance. The left arm is brought backwards holding the helmet. The Neo-Attic copies of the figures on the base can offer some clues about her hairstyle, suggesting that she had some long locks hanging down on to her shoulders in the manner of the Archaic korai. She is dressed in a chiton with many crinkled folds over which is the typical Archaistic garment, the long diagonal himation with apoptygma. The apoptygma ends in a swallowtail with one of its edges protruding outwards. It has a central pleat while the rest of it is arranged in fine parallel folds. The lower part of the himation is similarly arranged with a

121. Harrison, 1950: 19; Harl-Schaler, 1972: 251.

central pleat and parallel folds. The open side of the himation is rendered in zig-zag folds. This pattern can be found in Archaic examples (cf. kore, Acropolis 688, or the Athena from the West pediment of the Aphaia temple)¹²² and reappears on the Athena of the oinochoe P 14793 from the Athenian Agora. The treatment of the motif, however, is hard and stylized in comparison to the Archaic examples or even the Athena on the oinochoe.

Hephaistos can be identified by the axe he is holding. He is depicted in profile to the right, with the upper torso in three-quarter view, and the left leg advanced. He holds the axe in both hands, the left arm raised, and the right arm lowered and brought back. The head is not very well preserved, but the remainder of the figure is in a better condition than the other deities. He is dressed in a long himation which leaves his chest free. The free edges of the himation are arranged in zig-zags similar to those seen on the Athena. A central pleat is formed in the middle of his himation which is drawn tight around the buttocks and the right leg. The anatomy is emphasized in a way which recalls Archaic kouroi.¹²³

Hermes is the least well preserved of the Four Gods, since only part of his left side survives with a portion of his garment. On the left foot there are traces of the wings. He is shown in profile to the left with the upper torso in three-quarters view. The left arm is held backwards and slightly bent at the elbow in the same way as in the other two figures just discussed. The preserved part of his himation is arranged in thin parallel folds while the edges are treated with zig-zags.

122. Brahms, 1994: 88-90.

123. Brahms, 1994: 90-91.

The rendering, however, is stiff and gives the impression of a plank-like stack.¹²⁴

The fourth figure, Zeus, is depicted in profile to the left, with the upper torso shown in three-quarter view. Parts of the upper torso, the head and the left arm are missing. His right arm is bent at the elbow and is raised, holding a sceptre. Some of his left hand is preserved resting on the buttocks. Both of his heels are slightly raised from the ground as with the Athena. He is dressed in a long himation which is decorated with a central pleat and rendered in thin parallel folds. The free edges of his himation are arranged in zig-zags. The himation is drawn tight around his buttocks and left leg. The anatomy is emphasized as with the Hermes and Hephaistos.¹²⁵

The Four Gods base is arguably one of the most important works of the Archaistic style, and its dating potentially offers crucial evidence for the beginning of the style.

Schmidt was among the first scholars to date the base in the fourth century BC, c.370 BC.¹²⁶ Fuchs followed Schmidt's dating.¹²⁷ Zagdoun places the base in the late fourth century BC.¹²⁸ Becatti¹²⁹ and Havelock¹³⁰ on the other hand are in favour of a dating in the second century BC, while Harrison¹³¹ has suggested a date in the Augustan period.

124. Brahms, 1994: 92.

125. Brahms, 1994: 92-3.

126. Schmidt, 1922: 30.

127. Fuchs, 1959: 45ff.

128. Zagdoun, 1989: 161f.

129. Becatti, 1940: 82.

130. Mitchell-Havelock, 1964: 47.

131. Harrison, 1965: 67, 82, n.93.

There are, however, a few elements which can orientate us towards a dating in the first half of the fourth century BC. The pointed edge of Athena's apoptygma and the rendering of her garments in thin folds recall the Athenas on the Panathenaic amphorae of the first half of the century. Furthermore the motif of the hand which is covered by the mantle and lies on the buttocks of the figure, to be seen on the figure of Zeus, can also be found in the decree relief of 384/83 BC in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, Inv. 607.¹³² A further indication for a dating in the first half of the fourth century BC is the rendering of the Lesbian kymation which decorates the lower part of the base. The leaves of the kymation are wide and they have a convex surface. Its treatment is a development of the Erechtheion Lesbian moulding, and it comes close to the kymation which decorates the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. A comparison with the kymation of the Ara Pacis at Rome which has concave leaves suggests that the base does not belong to the Augustan period.¹³³

A relief showing Dionysos was found in 1932 between Hagia Paraskevi and Chalandri. (List 4, e II 5) (Fig. 70) The god is depicted in profile to the left, with the upper torso in three-quarter view. The right leg is advanced, the right arm is bent at the elbow with the hand holding a kantharos, and the left arm is brought backwards holding a thyrsos, in a pose which recalls the gods from the Acropolis base. He is dressed in a chiton with fine thin folds with borders on the neck and the hem. He also wears the Archaistic long diagonal himation with apoptygma and

132. Brahms, 1994: 93; Lawton, 1995: no.19, pl.10.

133. Brahms, 1994: 93.

ruffle. His beard ends in a point while the hair, confined by a tainia, is gathered in a krobylos at the neck and three long locks hang on his left shoulder. On his feet he wears sandals.

The rendering of the himation differs from what we have seen so far. The apoptygma has an apron-like rendering which leaves the buttocks free. It is also rendered in two broad pleats, one central and one on the left edge. The right edge of the apoptygma, which is longer, is decorated with zig-zag folds similar to those of the gods on the Acropolis base (cf. especially Zeus). The lower part of the himation presents the typical central fold as well as a couple of thinner folds which emerge from the left side of the central one. Apart from these the himation lacks the quality of thin linear folds which usually decorate the himation of Archaistic figures. That gives the artist the opportunity to show the body of the god almost naked. Dionysos has the same emphasized anatomy as Hephaistos, Hermes and Zeus of the Acropolis base, but it is more fleshy and more lively in rendering. Although the figure presents similarities with the gods from the Acropolis base (pose, emphasized anatomy, zig-zag folds) it differs from them in the rendering of the himation as well as of the body. The treatment of the apoptygma, the himation folds and the fuller and more plastically rendered physique point to a later date. Harrison,¹³⁴ Havelock,¹³⁵ Fullerton,¹³⁶ Zagdoun¹³⁷ and Becatti¹³⁸ have all dated it to the Hellenistic period. Their main arguments were the rendering of the body and

134. Harrison, 1965: 55.

135. Mitchell-Havelock, 1964: 56.

136. Fullerton, 1982: 103.

137. Zagdoun, 1989: 162.

138. Becatti, 1940: 82.

the physique of the figure. The emphasized anatomy of the figure, however, is also found in the gods of the Acropolis base (cf. above). Furthermore in the Hellenistic examples the anatomy is even more exaggerated while here we have a smooth rendering of the body (cf. Hellenistic examples of reliefs representing Dionysos leading the Nymphs). The apron-like treatment of the apodygma, which leaves the buttocks free, can also be found on the Samothracian dancers.¹³⁹ Brahms has, also, suggested that the treatment of the beard in long strands recalls the Waroque type herms, a type which was established in the fourth century BC.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore the size of the relief (1, 61 m) distinguishes it from the neo-Attic reliefs which were usually of smaller sizes.¹⁴¹ Last but not least is Fuchs' remark about the shape of the cantharos which belongs to the fourth century BC. For these reasons the relief should probably be placed in the second half of the fourth century BC.

The same debate about dating concerns works which represent the round dance of Pan and the Nymphs.¹⁴² Usually this type of relief represents Pan leading the line of the three Nymphs. Most of the examples we have are dated to the Hellenistic period or even Roman times. However it is possible that their prototypes go back to the Classical period and particularly to the fourth century BC. According to Schmidt the oldest and the best example of the theme is a relief which we know only from its plaster copy (Würzburg, Inv.D 146; property of M.Wagner) (G in

139. Brahms, 1994: 245.

140. Brahms, 1994: 245, ch. III.1.7.

141. Brahms, 1994: 245-46.

142. Zagdoun, 1989: 16.

Schmidt's list) (List 4, e II 6). He places it before the middle of the fourth century and particularly between the Four Gods base and the Epidauros base.¹⁴³ In this example the Archaistic elements can be found both in the rendering of the folds on the garments of the Nymphs and in the way Pan is depicted. Once more in Schmidt's judgement the head of the Pan resembles the way the heads of Silenoi were rendered in the Archaic period. This rendering actually replaces the youthful and idealizing representations of the god found in the fifth century BC.¹⁴⁴ A further point to note is that there seems to be no indication for a Nymph relief prototype from the Archaic period which later emerges as an Archaistic creation.¹⁴⁵ The theme was probably evolved within the Classical period and its Archaistic elements are to be explained as the result of Archaistic trends in Classical art of the fourth century BC.

In the museum of the British School at Athens there are two reliefs (S 1 and S 53) which probably are parts of the same relief, although they do not adjoin. (List 4, e II 7) Each one represents a female figure dressed in elaborate garments. Great care has been taken in the way the two figures are worked. Both of the figures are dressed in Archaistic garments, a long chiton and a peplos with an overfall and perhaps a himation. The garments are rendered in zig-zags and massive folds, the body, though, is plastically rendered under the garments. Apart from the two figures a third one is also suspected, in which case it was probably a relief with the

143. Schmidt, 1922: 35.

144. Schmidt, 1922: 34.

145. Schmidt, 1922: 42.

representation of a divine triad such as the Nymphs or the three Graces. It has been argued that the relief belongs to the fourth century BC, although a later dating cannot be ruled out.¹⁴⁶

Another work related to Dionysos is a male torso which was found in Stamata in 1888 near a church. (List 4, e II 8) The god is dressed in the typical Archaistic garments, the chiton and the diagonal himation. The first who dated the statue in the fourth century BC was Bulle.¹⁴⁷ Most other scholars follow that dating. Herdejürgen compares the torso with the Dionysos from Chalandri (cf. above) and another relief of the same god from Chalkis and places it in the fourth century BC.¹⁴⁸ Harrison specifically dates it in the second half of the fourth century after comparing it with the kore from Laurion and the Archaistic kore from the Acropolis (cf. above).¹⁴⁹ The same dating is also favoured by Zagdoun,¹⁵⁰ Brahms,¹⁵¹ and Fullerton, in his thesis in 1982.¹⁵² Fullerton, however, in a later study suggested that the Stamata torso is a late Hellenistic type.¹⁵³

The Stamata torso presents similarities with the fourth century works not only in the proportions of the body but in the rendering of the garments too. The treatment of the drapery on the lower part of the body with the central pleat and the symmetrical folds is typical and recalls the Archaistic Hekataia.¹⁵⁴

146. Waywell, 1970: 273-75, pl.75 a-b.

147. Bulle, 1918: 12.

148. Herdejürgen, 1968: 81

149. Harrison, 1965: 51-52.

150. Zagdoun, 1989: 161.

151. Brahms, 1994: 240-43.

152. Fullerton, 1982: 234.

153. Fullerton, 1990: 133ff.

154. Fullerton, 1982: 233-34.

From Samothrace comes another well-known example. This is a frieze which represents a dance of maidens. (List 4, e II 9) The figures are rendered in an Archaistic form, not only with respect to their anatomy but in their drapery too. The frieze is usually dated to c.340 BC,¹⁵⁵ and for some scholars it was an offering by Philip II.¹⁵⁶ A similar frieze from a Doric tomb at Antiphellos offers a parallel within the fourth century BC. However some scholars prefer a lower date, within the second century BC. These who argue for the lower date usually compare the Samothracian example with an Archaistic frieze from Phanagoria, on the Black Sea, which also represents women dancing and which is dated c.200-150 BC.¹⁵⁷ However the style of the figures on the frieze, which resembles that of Hebe on the above-mentioned "Epidauros base", as well as that of the coffer which decorated the Propylon, can support the dating of the monument in the fourth century BC and certainly not lower than 300 BC.¹⁵⁸

The frieze represents a long chain of dancers and musicians, all females. It is subdivided into pairs and triads of figures. The triads have in the middle a musician, while the figure who precedes, turns her head and looks at the musician. The triads are followed by dancers, of whom every second one turns her head and faces the figure who follows her (Fig.71). This organization gives a rhythm and liveliness to the frieze which otherwise would be a monotonous repetition of similar figures.¹⁵⁹ The dance which the Samothracian frieze depicts was probably

155. Fuchs, 1983: 458, fig.538.

156. Ridgway, 1990: 26.

157. Ridgway, 1990: 26; Ridgway, 1997: 234, no.64.

158. Ridgway, 1990: 28.

159. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 252.

a ceremonial one, dedicated to the cult of the Great Goddess who was worshipped on the island. Representations of ceremonial dances exist in Greek art, but the uniqueness of the Samothracian frieze lies in the Archaistic appearance of the figures. This appearance is probably connected to the religious character of the dance and with the antiquity of the cult. An interesting observation about the appearance of the figures is that they actually wore the ceremonial garment of the goddess.¹⁶⁰ As Harrison remarked it was the practice in all periods for the worshippers to wear garments which usually belonged only to the gods in an attempt, probably, to assimilate themselves to the divinity they worshipped. When the Archaistic style came into use they also started to adopt Archaistic garments for the representation of worshippers to emphasize the solemnity of these representations.¹⁶¹

According to Lehmann's suggestion the frieze should be attributed to Skopas. This is, however, a very uncertain attribution. Lehmann's suggestion of a possible visit of Skopas to Samothrace where he watched the ritual dance which he depicted on the frieze, is very speculative. Speculative also is the supposed visit of Skopas to Persia and his inspiration by Persian compositions such as the reliefs on the Apadana staircase at Persepolis.¹⁶² Furthermore Lehmann accepted Strabo's reference (13.1.48) that Skopas made an Archaistic statue of Apollo Smintheus for the temple of the god at Troas.¹⁶³ Although the Archaistic representations of the

160. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 244, 253-55.

161. Harrison, 1965: 64.

162. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 255.

163. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 258-59, 261.

statue on coins of the fourth century from the area of Troas might be thought, at first, to give some support to Lehmann's argument, a further examination will show that this attribution is not very well supported.

Apart from the cult-image of Apollo Smintheus and its Archaistic representations on coins of the late fourth century BC and the Waroque type of herm which Brahms unconvincingly attributes to Skopas, there are no other grounds for linking Skopas with the Archaistic style. What reasons are there for thinking that the Archaising representation of the cult-image on the fourth century coins is actually the statue Skopas made for the sanctuary? There are two references in ancient literature to Apollo's statue, Strabo 13.1.48 and Eust.34.16. The latter points out that Skopas made only the mouse under Apollo's foot.¹⁶⁴ The ruins of the temple are dated in the second century BC, so Lehmann's suggestion, if true, about Skopas' authorship of the cult-statue would imply the existence of an earlier temple in the fourth century BC which housed the cult-image or else an open-air temenos.¹⁶⁵

The fragments, however, of the cult-image which have been discovered belong in the Hellenistic period. Furthermore there is a variety of different representations of the cult-image on coins, something which suggests that there may have been more than just one statue. An alternative possibility is that the Hellenistic statue was made by another sculptor with the same name.¹⁶⁶

If this is a fair assessment of the statue of Apollo Smintheus then we have no

164. Ridgway, 1997: 258.

165. Ridgway, 1997: 258, 278 n.57.

166. Ridgway, 1997: 258, 278-79 n.57.

other Archaistic works certainly attributed to Skopas. Furthermore the rest of the works which are attributed to him show no traces of Archaism. According to Lehmann's judgment Skopas "played an important role in establishing that current (i.e. Archaising)" and "surely no minor artist was responsible for this trend (i.e. Archaising)".¹⁶⁷ However the Archaistic style seems to have been established long before Skopas' time, already by the late fifth century BC and furthermore another important artist marks its beginning, Alkamenes. If Skopas was so influential for the development of the Archaistic style why do we not have any other traces of it in his works apart from the hypothetical attribution of the Samothracian frieze to him? Another argument against this attribution can be offered by Ridgway's observation about the modest quality of the frieze. According to her the repetitive motif of the frieze was meant to be a "glorified moulding" adding to the general richness of the monument.¹⁶⁸ The above-mentioned points make, I think, the arguments for this attribution quite unconvincing.

In the bibliography on Archaistic art there are different opinions about the beginning of the Archaistic style, as reviewed already in the introduction, and as indicated in greater detail in this chapter. We should now offer a brief indication of what our opinion is on this question. It is true that there are works at the beginning of the Classical period which recall works of the previous Archaic style. A typical example is the seated goddess from Tarentum (c.480 BC). The garments

167. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 261.

168. Ridgway, 1990: 26-28.

of the goddess with their zig-zags and the linearity resemble the style of the previous decades.¹⁶⁹ The goddess, which is dated in the sub-Archaic period, has been influenced by female figures from Miletus and from Tarentum. The latter confirms its origin from Tarentum.¹⁷⁰ The goddess is dressed in a long diagonal himation which is the Archaistic equivalent of the short Ionic mantle. According to Herdejürgen the long diagonal himation is an Archaistic feature which makes its appearance already from the first years of the fifth century BC.¹⁷¹

Furthermore as mentioned above in the vase-painting of this period there are indications of Archaic-style representations of cult-images, e.g. Kleophrades' hydria and Makron's cup. These remarks recall the observations about the curled hairstyle in a previous chapter. According to these the curled hairstyle (i.e. snail-shell-like curls formed in lines over the forehead) continued to be in use, and especially in vase-painting, until the middle of the fifth century BC. The next example we have of Archaism are the representations of xoana on the Parthenon metopes and Alkamenes' Archaistic creations. After them there follow the example of the Bassai frieze with the representation of a cult-statue, two cult-images in the pedimental sculptures of the temple of Hera at Argos, and, a few decades later, the representation of another cult-statue from the pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Thereafter in the fourth century BC the examples of Archaistic art become more frequent: representations of xoana,

169. Fuchs, 1983: 257-59.

170. Herdejürgen, 1968: 29, 30, 36.

171. Herdejürgen, 1968: 65.

Archaistic devices on coins, Panathenaic amphorae with Archaistic Athenas and reliefs like the Four Gods base, the Dionysos from Chalandri, and the frieze from Samothrace. In Hellenistic period the examples are even more numerous.

Returning to the question of the origin of the Archaistic style we can observe that Ridgway's remark about a "lingering Archaic" is correct, but only up to a point. During the first decades of the fifth century BC a preservation of features from Archaic art can be thought of as natural since, as Ridgway pointed out, we do not expect an artist who worked in one style to forget it and start working in a new fashion. Apart from that, in specific categories of conservative representations, those of xoana and the coins, we can talk about continuity from the Archaic period down to the fourth century BC. As for the rest of the works the examples of "lingering Archaic" seem to stop within the first half of the fifth century BC and to start again with the examples of Alkamenes' work. The reasons for the continuity in the xoana and the coins seem to lie in their context. The Archaistic representation of a xoanon immediately indicates that this is a cult-image and specifically an antique and venerable xoanon. As for the coins the preservation of the Archaic device was a guarantee for the value of the currency in a time (after the Persian Wars) when the Attic currency was international.¹⁷² At the end of the fifth century BC the first examples which indicate the formation of a new style appeared. At this point Becatti and Havelock doubt the importance of these works

172. Mitchell-Havelock, 1980: 43.

as the beginning of a new style. They also doubt the dating of some of these works. Their main argument is that only in the Hellenistic period, do we have a conscious revival of the style. The indications, however, from the fourth century BC strongly suggest, in my opinion, that the Archaistic style began in that century or even earlier, since from the fourth century BC we can certainly talk about a conscious revival of the style. And this is especially supported by the examples from Asia Minor at that time (cf. above, chs.3-4). Because what else can the revival of an Archaic hairstyle in the fourth century BC for propagandistic reasons be other than conscious? Or the deliberate use of Archaic elements in the architecture of the same period (cf. next chapter)? The numerous examples we have from the end of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC suggest that we have conscious use and development of the Archaistic style. The reasons for the creation of these works may be various, tradition, venerability, propaganda; however the context is the same: a conscious return to the past in an attempt to convey a specific message.

LIST 4: MONUMENTS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 5

a. Coins

1. Tetradrachm from Abdera, 400-390 BC. Ob.: Griffin and inscription: ABΔHPI. Rev.: An Archaistic Artemis standing on a base. She is depicted frontally and is dressed in a chiton; on her head she is wearing a polos. She is holding a bow with her left hand and a branch with her right. Behind her there is a stag. The inscription reads: ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ. Lacroix, 1949: 136, pl.XI,3. (Fig. 56 a)
2. Tetradrachm from Abdera of the same Archon. Ob.: Griffin and inscription: ABΔHPI. Rev.: An Archaistic Artemis in profile. The goddess is dressed in a chiton and she is holding a bow and a branch, next to her stands a stag. Lacroix, 1949: 136, pl.XI,4. (Fig. 56 b)
3. Athenian tetradrachm, c. 450 BC. Ob.: Owl and olive-branch. Rev.: The head of Athena in profile. The eye is frontal as in Archaic examples and the lips of the goddess are formed in an Archaic smile. A diadem of olive-leaves crowns her helmet. Kraay, 1976: 64 ff, 74-77, pls.11-12 nos.189-219. (Fig. 55)
4. Thasian coin of 412/11 BC. Ob.; Bearded Dionysos. Rev.: An Archaistic kneeling Herakles aiming with his bow. Seltman, 1933: 145, pl.29, 4.

b. Panathenaic amphorae

The examples which follow cover the three years which mark the changes in the appearance of Athena on the Panathenaic amphorae.

CHARIKLEIDES (363/2 BC)

1. Malibu 93. AE 55, of unknown origin. Height: 0.725 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The goddess is framed by two Acanthus-columns on top of which are Nikes. The games' inscription is on the right side. The archon's inscription is not preserved, there is however the potter's signature "ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ"

Side B: The victory ceremony with the presence of two athletes, a Nike and a judge.

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.024, pl.109.

2. Eretria 14813, from Eretria. Height: 0.695 m.

Side A: The goddess is facing to the left, she is framed by two Doric columns. The figures on top of the columns are Nikes. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Wrestlers. There are also represented an Ephedros on the left side and a Nike on a pillar.

According to Valavanis it is work of the Pourtalès painter

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.025, pl.110; Valavanis, 1991: 27ff, no.3, pl.7, 18 f, no.X 3.

3. Athens NM 20048, from Eretria. Height: 0.70 m.

Side A: Athena is facing to the left and framed by two Doric columns on top of which there are Nikes. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription is on the right side.

Side B: Wrestlers, on the left side are depicted an Ephedros and a Nike, on the right side there is a judge.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Pourtalès-painter.

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.026, pl.111; Valavanis, 1991: 20ff, no.1, pl.5; 14ff, no.X1.

4. Athena, NM 20047, from Eretria. Height: 0.705 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the left, framed by two Acanthus-columns on top of which there are two Nikes. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription is on the right side.

Side B: Two wrestlers and a Nike holding a branch. On the left side there is an Ephedros and on the right side there is a Doric column with a female figure on top.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Pourtalès-painter.

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.027, pl.110; Valavanis, 1991: 24 ff, no.2, pl.6; 16f, no.X2.

5. Kyrene F 4544, from Kyrene. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved archon's inscription.

Side B: Two wrestlers on the left side and right side of them there are two more figures.

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.028.

6. Eretria E/5-V 312, from the House of the Mosaics at Eretria. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Athena between two Acanthus-columns is facing to the left. On the left side there are traces of the Nike which decorated the top of the column. On the left side there is also the games' inscription while the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Part of a figure, either a judge or a Nike.

Bentz, 1998: 170, 4.029.

7. Eretria E/5- V 313. From Eretria, the House of the Mosaics. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Athena is facing to the left and she is framed by two Acanthus-columns. The figures on top of the columns are Nikes. The archon's inscription is on the right side.

Side B: Partially preserved wrestlers.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Pourtalès-painter.

Bentz, 1998: 170, no.4.030; Valavanis, 1991: 227, no.10; 232.

8. Eretria E/5- V 313. From Eretria, the House of the Mosaics. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Athena facing to the left, framed by two Acanthus-columns with two Nikes on top. On the left side there are traces of the games' inscription and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Partially preserved female figure and a palm branch.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Pourtalès-painter.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.031; Valavanis, 1991: 227, no.10; 232.

9. Eretria, from the House of the Mosaics. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: partially preserved Athena facing to the left and framed by two Acanthus-columns which are decorated by Nikes. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: A foot is preserved on the left side.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.032.

10. Thebes K 1723, K 2305 b, from the Kabirion. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: It is preserved part of one of the Acanthus-columns. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.033.

11. Kyrene 717, from the area of Kyrene. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: The archon's inscription.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.034; Beazley, ABV 715.

12. Eleusis 2696(+2657/8). From the Telesterion at Eleusis. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left, framed by two Acanthus-columns with Nikes on top. On the left side there is the games' inscription, the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.035.

13. Eleusis, from the Telesterion.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left, there is also preserved the left Acanthus-column with a Nike on top. On the left side there is the games' inscription. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Partially preserved boxers as well as the judges and an Ephedros.

According to Valavanis it is work of the painter of Athens 12592.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.036; Valavanis, 1991: 225f, no.6; 232, 248 pl.66ff, 73
 δ, στ.

14. Eleusis, from Eleusis. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of Athena's garment and part of the right column. There is also partially preserved the painter's signature while the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.037; Beazley, ABV, 414.

15. Eleusis, from the Telesterion.

Side A: Athena facing to the left; the two Acanthus-columns which frame the goddess are partially preserved. Nikes decorated the top of the columns. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Runners.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the painter of Athens 12592.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.038; Valavanis, 1991: 226. 232f, no.7, pl.68f.

16. Eleusis 2656, 2660, from Eleusis. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of an Acanthus-column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.039.

17. Eleusis 2703, from the Telesterion at Eleusis.

Side A: Athena facing to the left, she is framed by two Acanthus- columns. Nikes decorate the top of the columns. The archon's inscription is on the right side.

Side B: Two partially preserved riders.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.040.

18. Athens, Kerameikos PA 122. From the Pompeion at Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of an acanthus-column and the partially preserved games' inscription on the right side of the column.

Bentz, 1998: 171, no.4.041.

19. Athens, Kerameikos PA 133. From the Pompeion at Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left. There is also preserved the Nike from the left column while the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Chariot-race. There are preserved the charioteer and one or more horses facing to the right.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Marsyas painter.

Bentz, 1998: 171-72, no.4.042.

20. Athens, Kerameikos PA 136. From the Pompeion at the Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left. There is also preserved the Nike from the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Chariot-race. There is depicted a partially preserved charioteer and a horse.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.043.

21. Athens, Kerameikos PA 143. From the Pompeion at the Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Only a part of the right column is preserved. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.044.

22. Athens, Kerameikos PA 145, 146, 149. From the Pompeion at the Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of the head of Athena who is facing to the left. The goddess is framed by two Acanthus-columns with Nikes on top. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Chariot-race. There is preserved part of the charioteer and the horses.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.045.

23. Athens, Kerameikos PA 147. From the Pompeion at the Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left. There is also preserved the Nike on the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.046.

24. Athens, Kerameikos PA 148. From the Pompeion at the Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Parts of the garment of Athena. The column-figures are Nikes. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.047.

25. Athens, Kerameikos PA 608. From Building Z at Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: There are preserved the columns without the capitals and the right column-figure which is possibly a Nike. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.048.

26. University of Heidelberg 246, of unknown origin. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Nike from the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.049.

KALIMEDES (360/59)

1. Athens NM 20044. From Eretria. Height: 0.728 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. She is framed by two columns which are decorated by the group of Eirene and Ploutos. The games' inscription is on the right side while the archon's inscription is on the left.

Side B: Wrestlers. A judge holding a branch is depicted on the left side. On the right side there is an Ephedros.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Marsyas painter.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.050, pl.112; Valavanis, 1991: 34ff, no.5, pl.9; 22ff, no.K2.

2. Athens NM 20045. From Eretria. Height: 0.735 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The tops of the columns are decorated with the group of Eirene and Ploutos. The games' inscription is on the right side and the archon's inscription is on the left.

Side B: Scene of Pankration. There are depicted two athletes and a Nike which flies above them; on the left side there is a judge and on the right a female figure.

According to Valavanis this a work of the Marsyas painter.

Bentz, 1998: 172, no.4.051, pls.110-112; Valavanis, 1991: 42ff, no.7, pl.11; 26f, no.K4.

3. Athens NM 20046. From Eretria. Height: 0.716 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right, the columns, which frame her, have Aeolic capitals and the group of Eirene and Ploutos decorates them. The games' inscription is on the left side. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Two wrestlers, a Nike flies above them, one more Nike stands on the left side holding a branch while on the right side stands an Ephedros.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the painter of Athens 12592.

Bentz, 1998: 172-73, no.4.052, pls.112-113; Valavanis, 1991: 30ff, no.4, pl.8, 20f, no.K1.

4. Athens NM 20049. From Eretria. Height: 0.718 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the left. The figures on top of the columns are Eirene and Ploutos. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Two wrestlers. On the left side stands a judge and on the right a Nike.

According to Valavanis this is a work of the painter of the wedding procession.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.053, pls.112-113; Valavanis, 1991: 38ff, no.6, pl.10; 24f, no.K3.

5. Eretria 14814. From Eretria. Height: 0.745 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The figures on top of the columns which frame the goddess are Eirene and Ploutos. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Two wrestlers. On the left side there is a judge and on the right side a female figure.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the Marsyas painter.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.054, pl.114; Valavanis, 1991: 45ff, no.8, pl.12; 28, no.K5.

6. Eretria 14815. From Eretria. Height: 0.712 m.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The columns which frame her have Aeolic capitals and they are decorated with the group of Eirene and Ploutos. The games' inscription is on the left side while the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Two wrestlers and a Nike who flies above them. On the left side there is an Ephedros and on the right a judge.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the painter of Athens 12592.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.055, pl.114; Valavanis, 1991: 48ff, pl.13, 30f, no.K6.

7. Oxford 1927. 4475. From Athens. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of the right arm and the shoulder of Athena who is facing to her right. There is also preserved part of the group of Eirene and Ploutos from the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.056.

8. Athens Agora P 31. From the Athenian Agora. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the left. There is also preserved the right column with the archon's inscription on its right side.

Side B: An athlete and a judge, both partially preserved.

According to Valavanis it is a work of the painter of the wedding procession.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.057; Valavanis, 1991: 241, no.8, pl.72 γ-δ.

9. Athens Agora P 27082. From the Athenian Agora. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: A part of Athena who is facing to the right, and also a part of the group of Eirene and Ploutos from the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.058.

10. Athens Agora P 27083. From the Athenian Agora. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of Athena who is facing to the right. There is also preserved part of the group of Eirene and Ploutos from the left column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.059.

11. Eleusis 2670. From Eleusis. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the right and also partially preserved Eirene and Ploutos from the right column. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.060.

12. Eretria, from the House of the Mosaics. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: A partially preserved column, and the figure of Eirene from both columns. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 173, no.4.061.

PYTHODELOS (336/5 BC)

1. London, BM B 607. Found in Caere in 1873. Formerly in the Castellani Collection. Height: 0.831 m. (Fig.58)

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The goddess is framed by two Ionic columns. On top of them there are the statues of Athena (on the left) and Triptolemos (on the right). The games' inscription is on the right side and the archon's inscription on the left.

Side B: Boxers. On the right side stands a Nike holding a branch, and on the left side stands an Ephedros.

Bentz, 1998: 176, no.4086, pls.119-120.

2. London, BM B 608. Found at Caere in 1873. Formerly in the Castellani Collection. Height: 0.824 m. (Fig.59)

Side A: Athena standing with her feet close together between two Ionic columns facing to the right. The top of the columns are crowned by two statues, Triptolemos on the left and Nike on the right. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Armed runners.

Bentz, 1998: 176, no.4087, pls.121-22.

3. Munich 7767. From Athens. Height: 0.81 m.

Side A: Athena between two Ionic columns facing to the right. The top of the columns are crowned by statues, Triptolemos on the left column and a female figure on the right. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Three riders facing to the left, of whom only the middle one is draped.

Bentz, 1998: 176, no.4.088, pls.121-122.

4. Paris, Bibl.Nat. 247, of unknown origin. Height: 0.68 m.

Side A: Athena between Doric columns facing to the right. The figure on top of the left column is Triptolemos and on the right a Nike. The games' inscription is on the right side while the archon's inscription is not preserved.

Side B: Wrestlers. On the left side there is a judge holding a branch and on the right side there are traces of a figure dressed in a mantle.

Bentz, 1998: 176, no.4.089, pls.123-124.

5. Volos, Ka 4266/91. From Demetrias/Aphanai.

Side A: Athena facing to the right. The figure on top of the left column is Triptolemos and on the right is a Nike. The games' inscription is on the right side and the archon's inscription is on the left side.

Side B: Two runners partially preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 177, no.4.090.

6. Basel, Cahn Collection HC 1444, of unknown origin. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena who is facing to the right. The figure on the left column is Triptolemos and on the right a Nike. The games' inscription is on the left side and the archon's inscription on the right.

Side B: Two athletes partially preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 177, no.4.091, pl.124.

7. Athens Agora P 22916. From the Athenian Agora. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Part of Athena facing to the right. There is also preserved the right column. The archon's inscription is on the right side.

Bentz, 1998: 177, no.4.092.

8. Pella, 83.3853. Found at the South Stoa of the Agora at Pella. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Partially preserved Athena facing to the right. There is also preserved a part of the right column with a female figure dressed in a peplos on top. The archon's inscription is on the right side.

Bentz, 1998: 177, no.4.093.

9. Athens, Kerameikos PA 716. From the Building Y at Kerameikos. State of preservation: fragmentary.

Side A: Only Triptolemos on top of the right column is preserved. The archon's inscription is not preserved.

Bentz, 1998: 177, no.4.094.

c. Representations of xoana

1. Hydria by the Kleophrades' painter, from Nola. It represents the Ilioupersis including the scene of the violation of Cassandra. In Naples, Museum no.2422; ARV 189, 74.
2. Cup by Makron depicting the rape of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes and Greek princes. On the handle there is the incised inscription: HIEPON EΠIOIEZEN. In St. Petersburg, Hermitage 649; ARV 460, 13.
3. Volute crater by the Niobid painter from Bologna. It represents scenes from the Ilioupersis including the scene of the violation of Cassandra. On the neck is depicted the Centauromachy between Herakles and Pholos. In Bologna, 268; ARV 598,1.
4. Vase by the Altamura painter, from Agrigento. Side A: The combat between Achilles and Memnon. Side B: Philoktetes bitten by the snake in front of the xoanon of Chryses. In the Louvre, G 342. CVA Louvre 2, III, Id, pl.4, 2-3; ARV 590, 12.

5. Nolan amphora near the manner of the Aithiopian painter, from Tarquinia.
Side A: Ajax and Cassandra. Side B: a mantle figure. Once in Naples. ARV 464, 1.
6. Volute crater by the Genf painter from S. Italy. Side A: Warrior leaving home.
Side B: Ajax and Cassandra. In London, E 470; ARV 430.
7. Oinochoe in Vatican. Menelaos pursuing Helen who is running towards the xoanon of Athena. Furtwängler- Reichhold, 1932: no.170/1, 307-311.
8. Phiale by the Kodros painter. It represents the violation of Cassandra by Ajax and youths leaving home. In the Louvre, G 458; ARV 1270, 11.
9. North metope (N 25) of the Parthenon. It represents the pursuit of Helen.
Width: 1, 312 m. Berger, 1986: 38-39. (Fig.60)
10. South metope (S 21) of the Parthenon. It depicts a scene from the Centauromachy. The metope is known mainly from Carrey's drawings.
Berger, 1986: 91.
11. South metope (S 18) from the Parthenon. It represents a scene of Ixion's story. The two figures depicted are probably Aidos and Nemesis. It is known from Carrey's drawings. Berger, 1986: 91. (Fig.61)
12. A scene from the Centauromachy from the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassai. A woman is seeking protection at the feet of a xoanon. British Museum. Brahms, 1994: 316-17, no.32.
13. The Xenokrateia relief. Athens NM 2756. From Phaleron. Marble. Height: 0. 75 m, Width: 1. 06 m, Thickness: 0.13 m. Brahms, 1994: 361, no.31. (Fig.23)

14. Two xoana G and H from the Argive Heraion. Marble. Xoanon G, original height: c.0.90 m. Xoanon H, present height: c.0.55 m. Eichler, 1919: 30-32. (Fig.62)
15. Xoanon from the pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Athens NM 4680. Marble. Reconstructed from four fragments. Height: 0.45 m. Yalouris, 1992: 25, no.13. (Fig.63)
16. Treaty relief between Athens and Neapolis (356/5 BC), Athens NM 1480. It depicts Athena shaking hands with the Parthenos of Neapolis who is rendered in an Archaistic fashion. Lawton, 1995: 95, no.28. (Fig.64)

d. Archaistic Korai

1. Archaistic kore from the Acropolis, Acropolis Inv.3720 and 355. Attic marble. Height: 0.41m, 0.20m. Langlotz in Schrader, 1924: 145-46, no.138, figs.110-111.
2. Archaistic kore from the Agora (S 251). Pentelic marble. Present height: 0.85 m. It was found in 1932 in the area of Areopagus. Broken off at the hips. Head and arms are missing. Late fifth or fourth century BC. Harrison, 1965: 73, no.123, pl.25.
3. Archaistic kore from the Agora (S 2119). Pentelic marble. Present height: 0.37m. It was found in 1959 in the area of the Eleusinion. Harrison, 1965: 51-52, 68-69, no.111, pl.23. (Fig.65)
4. Archaistic kore from the Athenian Agora (S 2176). It probably formed a pair with the S 2119. Brahms, 1994: 216, nn.938, 939, 940.

5. An Archaistic basin-bearer from Laurion. Athens NM 74. Marble either Pentelic or island. Height: 0.990 m. Second quarter of the fourth century BC. Harrison, 1965: 51-52; Fullerton, 1982: 60-61.

e. Other Archaistic works

I) Works of certain or likely date in the late fifth or fourth centuries BC

1. Archaistic relief representing Hera from the West gate of the wall circuit of Thasos. In situ. Height: 1,45 m. late fifth century BC. Mendel, 1900: 553-74, pls.XIV-XVI.
2. Grave-stele of Philis from Thasos. In the Louvre, Cat.somm.(1922) 46, 766. It was found near the port of Panagia. Thasian marble, height: 1.49. Late fifth century BC. Devambez, 1931: 413-22, pl.XXI.
3. Hebe from the Epidauros base, Athens NM 1425. It was found near the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Pentelic marble, height: 0.651 m, width: 0.965 m. Middle of the fourth century BC. Ridgway, 1997: 209. (Fig.66)
4. Dionysos from Euonymos, in Geroulanos Collection. End of the fourth-beginning of the third century BC. Under life-size. Brahms, 1994: 240, 347, no.71.
5. The frieze with the Erotes, Athens NM 1451-1452. Marble. The slabs came from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite at the North Slope of the Acropolis. Second half of the fourth century BC. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 241. (Fig.67)

6. The "Atarbos base", Acropolis 1338. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.325 m, width: 0.96 m, thickness: 0.715 m. Found built into one of the bastions near the Beule gate. Possibly dates to the 320s. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 241.
7. Statuette of Artemis from Delion on Paros. Paros Museum 757. Parian marble. Height with the base: 1.28 m. Around 360 BC. Kleeman, 1962: 219ff.
8. Relief in Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.690. Marble. Height; 0.40 m, width: 0.26 m, c.330/20 BC. Brahms, 1994: 320-21, no.37.
9. Treaty relief from the Agora representing an Archaistic goddess and a dolphin. 321/0 BC. Lawton, 1995: 106-107, pl.27, fig.52.
10. Painted representation of a xoanon on a funerary couch from Potidaia. Thessaloniki Museum 9747. Sismanidis, 1997: 43, pl.4b, 11, 17b.
11. Painted representation of the Persian king and one of his attendants on the interior of the shield of a Persian on the Alexander sarcophagus. Boardman, 1994: 48.

II) Works of uncertain date

1. The altar from Brauron. Brauron Museum. Marble. The fragments of the altar were found in the church of St.George and in a house in the area of Brauron. End of the fifth century BC. Fuchs-Vikelas, 1985: 47ff.
2. "Dionysos Braschi", Munich Glyptothek Inv.180. Height: 1.90 m. Dated in the time of Hadrian. It probably copies an original of the late fifth century BC. Willers, 1975: 64.

3. Hermes Kriophoros, Athens NM 57. Height: 0.75-0.80 m. It was found built into a house in Athens in 1867. Originally it had reliefs on the three sides. Augustan, it probably copies an original of the late fifth century BC. Harl-Schaler, 1972. (Fig.68 a-b)
4. The Four gods base, Acropolis Museum 610. Pentelic marble, height: 1.17 m, height of the figures: 0.90 m. Found in 1857 to the E of the Parthenon. Second quarter of the fourth century BC. Brahms, 1994: 88-90. (Fig.69 a-d)
5. Dionysos from Chalandri, Athens NM 3727. Marble. Height: 1.61 m. Found in 1932 in a vineyard between Chalandri and Hagia Paraskevi. Datable c.340-30 BC. Brahms, 1994: 245-46. (Fig.70)
6. Copy of a relief depicting Pan and the Nymphs. Würzburg Inv.D 164; property of M.Wagner. Schmidt, 1922: 34-35.
7. Archaistic relief with the representation of two female figures, British School at Athens S1+S53. Pentelic marble. S1: height: 0.99 m, width: 0.59 m, thickness: 0.27 m. S53: height: 0.63 m, width: 0.49 m, thickness: 0.23 m. Second half of the fourth century BC. Waywell, 1970: 273-75.
8. Dionysos torso from Stamata, Athens NM 3070. Pentelic marble, height: 0.98 m. Brahms, 1994: 240-43, 347-48, no.72.
9. The Samothrace frieze, from the Propylon of the Temenos. Some of the slabs are in the Louvre, the rest of them in Samothrace Museum. Marble. Height of the figures: 0.25 m. Around 340 BC. Williams-Lehmann, 1982: 252 ff. (Fig.71)

6. ARCHAISTIC FEATURES IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

The economic and political strength of the Ionian Cities in the fourth century BC is expressed among other things in Architecture.¹ The building of new temples, like that of Athena Polias at Priene, and the re-building of older monuments which had been destroyed, like the Artemision at Ephesos, are particular features of the architectural revolution in fourth century Ionia. An important characteristic is the introduction of Archaistic elements into the Ionic architectural style of the period. We cannot speak about continuity in the architectural style in Ionia from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC since there is not enough evidence to prove it. The Archaisms in the Ionic order, as much in plan as in details, were something new, something which began in the fourth century BC. Furthermore they can be found in both new and re-built monuments. A related aspect, although not Archaizing, is the introduction of Doric elements into the Ionic Architecture of the period: these were mainly elements of the general plan of the monument.

Pytheos, the architect of the Mausoleum and of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, and the Hekatomnid dynasty, members of which were patrons of some of the most important monuments of the period, seem to have played an important role in the development of the Ionic order in the time under consideration.

The purpose of this section is to trace repetitive Archaistic elements in characteristic monuments of the fourth century BC and to discuss the reasons for

1. *Hekatomnid Caria*, 1994.

their use. The study is intended as a comparative analysis to the introduction of similar Archaistic elements in the contemporary sculpture of Asia Minor, discussed above in chapter 3.

Attention will be focussed on two key sets of monuments. The first of these is the Archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesos and its fourth century reconstruction, as representative of a class of Archaic temples that were destroyed and rebuilt incorporating Archaizing features of design, detail and decoration. Other similar temples are those of Apollo at Didyma, and in Mainland Greece the temples to Apollo at Delphi and Athena Alea at Tegea.² The second group of monuments comprises the temple of Zeus and Andrones A and B in the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda as examples of innovative fourth century architecture incorporating Archaistic details that were constructed by members of the ruling Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria. Related Archaisms are to be noted also in the temple of Athena Polias at Priene and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.³

a. The Artemision at Ephesos and its reconstruction

The Archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesos was built in an area where previously many small shrines existed housing the cults of Leto, and Demeter, which were brought to the area by the Ionian colonists. The cult of Artemis was probably

2. Gruben, 1963: 78-117; Fehr, 1971/72: 14ff; Winter, 1982: 387-400; Norman, 1984: 172.

3. Carter, 1983: 25-33; Königs, 1983: 141-44, 157, 159, 163; Gruben, 1986: 381-84; Drerup, 1954: 1-31; Waywell, 1978; Waywell, 1988: 100-123; Waywell, 1989: 23-30; Jeppesen, 1992: 59-102; Jeppesen, 1998: 116-231.

introduced when the temple of Croesus was built. With Croesus' encouragement the previous cults were syncretised in the cult of Artemis. A new sanctuary was created not just for the Greeks or the Carians but for the whole of Asia Minor.⁴

Before Croesus' temple the following buildings existed in the area: a) In the area of the altar an apsidal building of the eighth-seventh century BC, in front of which there was a processional road which led to the area of the later Eschara; b) between the later Croesus temple and the altar existed the Hekatompedos of the seventh century BC (the length of the building was 34, 50 m or ca.100 Ionian ft.). A small foundation at the south of the Hekatompedos was probably an altar.⁵ c) In the centre of the sekos of the later Croesus' temple there was a peripteral temple of the second half of the eighth century BC, with 4x8 columns (6, 5x13, 5 m). In its interior there were six columns. These probably enclosed a rectangular base and they possibly supported a baldachin.⁶ The peripteros, which corresponds to Hogarth's temples A and B, was a combination of two known Geometric types the so-called "Ringhalle" and the Hearth-temple. Examples of the latter come from Crete, Chios (Emporio) and Ionia.⁷ We do not have much evidence about its architectural details. The stone column bases are preserved, and they have a primitive shape which resembles the later tori and plinths. The columns were probably made of wood and the walls of yellowish limestone.⁸ In a later phase

4. Muss, 1994: 48-49.

5. Bammer, 1990: 137-60.

6. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 33-35.

7. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 33-34.

8. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 33-34.

(end of the seventh century BC) the peristasis was probably disposed of.⁹ Until the construction of Croesus' temple the sanctuaries to the West and the East side of the area seem not to have had any connection with each other.¹⁰

The Archaic temple is also known as the Croesus temple since the Lydian king had dedicated some of the sculptured column drums which adorned the building and for which it was famous (the dedicatory inscription survives on three fragments from sculptured drums, BM Cat.Sculpture B16, B32, and BM Cat. Inscriptions 518) (Herodotus, I, 92). Its construction started about the middle of the sixth century BC, and certainly before 546 BC when the Lydian kingdom fell into the hands of the Persians. Earlier c. 570 BC, at the rival Heraion on the island of Samos there had been started the construction of the third temple of Hera by Rhoikos and Theodoros, measuring 52, 5x105 m. The Ephesians summoned from Crete the two Cnossian architects Chersiphron and his son Metagenes and from Samos Theodoros. Theodoros probably came to give his technical knowledge for the foundation of the temple on swampy ground since the temple of Hera was also founded on a similar kind of terrain. However the similarities of the ground plans of the two temples might suggest that Theodoros' contribution was not restricted only to the technical side. Not many traces of the Ephesos temple have been found; the only fragments surviving in situ are four column bases from the peristyle, parts of the West and South cella walls, the South West anta and parts of the foundation and the marble pavement.¹¹ All the attempts at reconstruction

9. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 33-34; Wiplinger and Wlach, 1995: 146, fig.194.

10. Muss, 1994: 23-24.

11. Picón, 1983: 137.

depend upon the surviving material and Pliny's reference to the monument (NH 36, 95).

"Graecae magnificentiae vera admiratio exstat templum Ephesiae Dianae CXX annis factum a tota Asia. in solo id palustri fecere, ne terrae motus sentiret aut hiatus timeret, rursus ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantae molis locarentur, calcatis ea substravere carbonibus, dein valleribus lanae. universo templo longitudo est CCCCXXV pedum, latitudo CCXXV, columnae CXXVII a singulis regibus factae LX pedum altitudine, ex iis XXXVI caelatae, una a Scopas. operi praefuit Chersiphron architectus."

"Of grandeur as conceived by the Greeks a real and remarkable example still survives, namely the Temple of Diana at Ephesos, the building of which occupied all Asia Minor for 120 years. It was built on marshy soil so that it might not be subject to earthquakes or be threatened by subsidence. On the other hand, to ensure that the foundations of so massive a building would not be laid on shifting, unstable ground, they were underpinned with a layer of closely trodden charcoal, and then with another of sheepskins with their fleeces unshorn. The length of the temple overall is 425 feet, and its breadth 225 feet. There are 127 columns each constructed by a different king and 60 feet in height. Of these, 36 were carved with reliefs, one of them by Skopas. The architect in charge of the work was Chersiphron." (Loeb, 1962, book 36.95).

Pliny does not make clear whether he refers to the Archaic or to the later temple, that of the fourth century BC. Much of his information can be applied to both since the later temple was built according to the plan of the Archaic one. However other phrases clearly refer to the later temple like the reference to Skopas. We begin our examination with the Archaic temple. The Archaic Artemision was a dipteral temple like that of Hera on Samos. The actual measurements of the stylobate at Ephesos have been calculated as 55x115 m.¹² There were approximately 21 columns on each long side row, while at the front (West side-the temple had the unusual orientation with the front at the west) there were eight

12. Gruben, 1986: 351.

columns and nine at the rear. The spaces between the columns on the flanks were equidistant (5, 22m), apart from the intercolumniations on the corners which were wider in accordance with those of the front.¹³ On the front of the temple there was a variety in the column spacing, according to the Egyptian fashion, with the central intercolumniation, the widest, being 8,74 m, while the corner spacings were 6, 13 m.¹⁴ The same was true for the rear as well but in this case the central distance was almost halved since a ninth column was added here. A similar arrangement is also evident in the temple of Hera at Samos.¹⁵ There are many suggestions as to how many rows of columns there were on the front and on the back of the Archaic temple. As already mentioned, Pliny gave a total of 127 columns (NH 36, 95). We summarise the following suggestions as to how many columns there were on the Archaic temple and how they were distributed on the monument. Dinsmoor advocated three rows of columns at the front and two at the back. He also suggested four pairs of columns in the deep pronaos and three columns in the shallow opisthodomos, making a total of 117 instead of Pliny's 127 columns. Lethaby was the first who suggested a total of 117 columns. The reason for that was explained as a mistake made by the copyist of the manuscript of Pliny who wrote CXXVII instead of CXVII.¹⁶ Rügler seems to share Dinsmoor's opinion about the ground plan of the temple, although he assumes that the third frontal row was added later after the fire of 395 BC, and that the temple originally had only

13. Gruben, 1986: 349.

14. Gruben, 1986: 349.

15. Gruben, 1986: 349.

16. Dinsmoor, 1950: 127-28.

two rows at front and back.¹⁷ Both scholars, however, fail to explain how an opisthodomos (a Doric feature) fits in with an Ionic temple of the sixth century BC.

There are no other examples of this kind known from that period, and it is bold to restore such a feature at this early date.¹⁸ If there was indeed a room at the back of the cella it might rather have been an adyton - as Bammer suggested - than an opisthodomos.¹⁹ Krischen, in order to reach Pliny's number of 127 columns, restored three rows on the West front and four at the back. Drerup on the other hand gave four rows to the front and three to the back, and in this way he also reached Pliny's number.²⁰ Alzinger and Bammer provided a more symmetrical picture with three and two rows respectively on front and back. Alzinger further suggested four more columns in the cella which probably held a baldachin above the cult statue, so that he too achieved a total of 127 columns²¹ (Fig.72).

According to the architectural tradition of the period, (cf. Rhoikos' temple at Samos and the Archaic Didymaion), it seems more probable for the temple to have had two rows of columns on both front and back, and so for the total number of columns to have been less than 127 or even 117. A third or even a fourth extra row could have been added later during the reconstruction of the fourth century BC. Pliny's number of columns, then, could be valid for the later temple only.

Considering now the individual architectural parts of the Archaic temple we can

17. Rügler, 1988: 35-40.

18. Alzinger, *RE*: 1659.

19. Alzinger, *RE*: 1659f.

20. Drerup, 1962: 510; Krischen, 1956: 64, fig.27.

21. Alzinger, *RE*: 1659f.

start with the column bases. They stood on square plinths the length of which was 2, 20-2, 36m. The bases gave their name to the Ephesian type and consisted of a double spira with three sets of double roundels and two concave parts. Above the spira was the torus, a convex moulding which is fluted horizontally.²² There is a variety in the lower diameters of the columns especially for those on the front and the back of the building (1,72-1,75), while for those on the flanks the lower diameters were 1,75m.

Pliny, again, mentions that 36 of the columns had sculptured drums (*columnae caelatae*) and that one of these was made by Skopas. Clearly the latter remark refers to the Classical temple. Fragments of sculptured drums and square pedestals have been revealed from the excavations at the site. The square pedestals were made with the superimposed technique (courses of blocks dowelled one above the other). This technique, which can also be found in other works of Archaic art, like the metopes from Selinus, is of East Greek origin and it was inspired by Egyptian practice.²³ The origin of the pedestals seems also to be Anatolian, since they probably derived from the double animal bases of the Anatolian monuments.²⁴ The figured pedestals suggest more precisely a Hittite-North Syrian origin. In places like Tell Hallaf and Carchemish can be found pilaster or column bases in the form of an animal (usually a lion) or a pair of animals. Although this type of base does not have a proper cubic shape it is probably the origin of the sculptured

22. Robertson, 1929: 46.

23. Picón, 1983: 32-35.

24. Picón, 1983: 138.

pedestals. In the same area, also, sculptured orthostates were used for the decoration of important buildings. It seems that it was in the region of Asia Minor that there first occurred sculptured decoration on the lower part of buildings. Examples of this would be the sculptured pedestals of the Artemision and the columnae caelatae, if we accept that the columnae caelatae were on the lower part of the building, since some scholars, as we shall see further on, place them just below the capitals.²⁵ The pedestals were decorated with relief sculptures of both animal and human figures, yet it is unlikely there was any "programme" in the decoration of the pedestals.²⁶ In general sculptured column drums and sculptured pedestals were a rare system of decoration and of eastern Greek origin. Other indications of similar decoration are given by a sculptured drum from Kyzikos and a temple at Syracuse-probably an Artemision - with indications that some of the drums were intended to be carved. Both of them seem to be influenced by the Artemision at Ephesos. In later times the Hellenistic temples of Artemis at Sardis and of Apollo at Chryse were also influenced in this way by the Ephesian Artemision.²⁷

Apart from the question of the origin of the concept of the columnae caelatae, there are two more questions concerning this particular feature: firstly which part of the column was adorned by the sculptured drums and what was their relation to the sculptured pedestals, and secondly what was the position of the columnae caelatae

25. Muss, 1994: 8.

26. Picón, 1983: 53f, 64.

27. Picón, 1983: 140-41.

in the general plan of the monument. The suggestions for the first question can be applied to both the Archaic and the Classical temples. As for the second we should keep the distinction between the two phases of the monument.

Starting with the first question, one of the main problems is whether sculptured drums and sculptured pedestals were placed together, one above the other, an opinion supported by Murray, Gruben and Rügler, or positioned separately, as Lethaby, Krischen and Dinsmoor suggested. Bammer gives another view, proposing that the sculptured drums should be placed under the capitals while the pedestals served as bases for those columns. He suggested this because he found the diameter of the sculptured drums to be narrower than that of the lower diameter of the columns but equal to that of the capitals. Wiegartz agrees with Bammer but he places plinths under the pedestals while Bammer sees them as resting on the stylobate.²⁸ Wiegartz also sees the columnae caelatae as examples of decorated column-necks. He compares them with examples like the Trysa monument, the Nereid monument and the friezes from the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women.²⁹ Muss agrees also with Wiegartz and Bammer as to the position of the sculptured drums under the capitals. She gives as a parallel example a sculptured drum from the temple of Apollo at Chryse, where a fluted fragment is attached below the sculptured part, an indication of its possible position on top of the column. The late Classical temple of Apollo-Smintheus at Chryse, in the area of Troas, is close

28. Alzinger, *RE*: 1667f; Rügler, 1988: 13f; Bammer, 1972: 22f; eadem, 1964-65: 133f; eadem, 1966: 27ff; Wiegartz, 1968.

29. Wiegartz, 1968: 62-64.

both geographically and chronologically to the late Classical Artemision. However as Trell pointed out, coins from Ephesos and Troas which depict both of the temples, the Artemision and the temple of Apollo, show the decorated drums at the base of the columns and not at the top. A coin of Hadrian (AD 117-138, Cambridge) shows the facade of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. The picture presents horizontal bands, prominently depicted, on the lower part of the columns, an indication that the decoration was on that part of the monument and not on the upper part as Bammer suggested. Furthermore two more coins of the Roman period show the same feature, one of which is also of the time of Hadrian (AD 117-138) from Eumeneia (now in the British Museum), while the second one, from Ephesos, is of the time of Maximus (AD 235-238, now in the British Museum).³⁰ Furthermore the fluted attachment at the bottom of the drum from Troas could be a later addition according to Trell, when the temple was already ruined. Another argument is that the use of decorated drums at the bottom of the columns, a Hittite tradition, is repeated much later in the sixth century AD with the decorated drums on the lower part of the columns in the Arcadian Way.³¹

If we accept Bammer's suggestion that the sculptured drums decorated the upper parts of the columns, then what we have is a "frieze-like" arrangement on the upper part of the building. However on the upper part of the Archaic building there was another frieze too, the sima frieze. We do not have any parallels from the contemporary or later architecture of the area for such an arrangement (i.e. two

30. Trell and Price, 1977: 28, 26, 127-28, figs.32, 221, 224.

31. Muss, 1994: 6; Trell, 1988: 94.

friezes on the upper part of the monument). On the other hand we have examples of frieze decoration on the lower part of monuments. These examples come from a later period, but they can tell us something about the practice and the use of this motif in Asia Minor. Monuments like the Nereid tomb at Xanthos and the Mausoleum (with its sculptured decoration of the podium) and the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women (although it does not come from the area of Asia Minor it presents similarities from there), share the same feature: their lower part is decorated with friezes one above the other. Although the examples of this feature belong to Classical times, they show that the practice in Asia Minor was to adorn the lower part of the monument with multiple frieze decoration and not the upper part. It is also possible that the Archaic Artemision served as prototype for these monuments. And last but not least is the testimony of the coins which clearly shows the *columnae caelatae* decorating the lower part of the columns. Accordingly we should exclude the possibility that the sculptured drums decorated the necks of the columns, and accept the suggestion that together with the sculptured pedestals they decorated the lower part of the building; either placed on top of the pedestals, forming two friezes one above the other, or side by side with them, forming a single frieze.

As noted above, Murray supposed the pedestals rested on the stylobate while Rügler, who shares his reconstruction, places them on square plinths. Lethaby believed the sculptured drums stood on plinths, while Krischen placed them on

proper Ionic bases and the pedestals on straight bases.³² The fact that the square pedestals indeed stood on plinths can be confirmed by the surviving part of a pedestal with its plinth underneath (Picón's no.10).³³

The other major problem concerning the *columnae caelatae* is their reconstructed position in the Archaic temple plan. Fragments of the sculptured drums were found on both sides of the monument. Muss gives some criteria in order to distinguish which fragments belong to the square pedestals and which to the *columnae caelatae*. According to her the fragments which have:

a) a circular surface, b) convex relief ground, c) concave inner face, and d) less than life-size figures belong to *columnae caelatae*. While fragments which have:

a) horizontal or vertical joints, b) flat corners or areas, c) flat relief ground, d) horizontal extension of the figures, and e) over life-size figures belong to square pedestals.³⁴ Picón suggests that the pedestals, fragments of which were found on

the west side only, adorned the pronaos, while the sculptured drums, which were found on both sides, adorned both the front and the rear of the temple.³⁵

According to Muss the *columnae caelatae* decorated the 8 columns on the front of the temple and the 10 columns which led into the pronaos. *Columnae caelatae* were also placed on the rear external row of columns of the building. However as she points out, the number of the columns at the back of the building is not certain (whether there were 8 or 9 columns). She also thinks it possible that *columnae*

32. Alzinger, *RE*: 1667f.

33. Picón, 1983: 143.

34. Muss, 1994: 17.

35. Picón, 1983: 148.

caelatae existed on the inner rows of the front and the back of the temple.³⁶

These are probably the most plausible suggestions concerning the position of the columnae caelatae based mainly on the find spots of the fragments. Other scholars, however, have made different suggestions about the position of the columnae caelatae on the Archaic building. Dinsmoor allocated the sculptured drums to the front two rows of the facade (16 in total). Further he suggested that there were twenty sculptured pedestals and he divided them between the eight columns of the opisthodomos and the twelve columns of the pronaos, giving a total of 36 bases, which would accord with Pliny's figure.³⁷ Krischen on the other hand placed all the columnae caelatae on the West front, the sculptured drums on the columns of the frontal rows and the pedestals within the pronaos. Alzinger agrees with him.³⁸ Rügler places the columnae caelatae in the three front rows of the temple including the two columns on the left and right side of the antae and four pairs of columns in the pronaos.³⁹ Butler offers two more complicated proposals: either a) the first two rows on both ends of the temple carried sculptured drums and the two columns behind and on either side of the central axis carried sculptured pedestals, or b) the first row and the three columns on the external sides of the second row, on both ends of the temple, carried the sculptured drums, while the two columns of the second row and the two behind them carried the pedestals. Butler believed that the preserved fragments were enough for the reconstruction of

36. Muss, 1994: 20.

37. Dinsmoor, 1950: 128f.

38. Alzinger, *RE*: 1667.

39. Rügler, 1988: 45.

only four pedestals.⁴⁰

The column height in the Archaic temple was approximately 12 lower diameters (taking as a measure the lower diameter of the flank columns, 1, 57), which works out at ca. 18, 80m. The columns generally had 40-44 flutes, while one drum had as many as 48 flutes, alternately wide and narrow.

The capitals present two very interesting features: 1) some of them have rosettes which cover all the area of the volute instead of the *canalis* and the eye. A reconstruction of a capital of this kind can be seen in the British Museum (BM, B 49, B 50) (Figs. 74 a-b). According to Muss the reconstruction seems right, although it is still to be proved whether the rosettes might not come from the inner angle of a corner capital as another example from St. John's basilica shows. The development of the volutes from rosettes can be seen also according to Muss on some early crownings of Samian stelae.⁴¹ Even the capitals with a *canalis* on the volutes do not have an eye. 2) There is a lack of correspondence between the flutes of the columns and the eggs of the echinus. The Ephesian capitals follow the tradition of the majority of the capitals of Asia Minor. Their main difference from those of the Cyclades is the reversed echinus while on the Cycladic examples the echinus is weaker and on the lower part strongly curved.⁴²

No fragments of the Archaic entablature have survived, so we do not know what its form was like. It is not certain if the architrave had three fasciae. We can assume that the existence of a frieze in the order was unlikely since there was a

40. Cited in Trel, 1945: 29-32.

41. Muss, 1994: 40.

42. Muss, 1994: 41.

sima-frieze on the top of the entablature with figured decoration. It had a parapet-like form and probably crowned all four sides of the monument (fragments have been discovered from both the West and East sides). Its length was c.310m while its height was about 90cm.

According to Picón the Archaic temple probably had a hipped-roof with the high sima all around.⁴³ No traces of raking sima have been found. There is also the problem of how the raking sima would have met the horizontal one without interrupting the figured scenes. An answer to this question, however, could be provided by the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women where there is a combination of pediments and sima all around the monument.⁴⁴ Furthermore we have no traces of pediments from the other two great temples of the area, the Heraion at Samos and the Didymaion. Gruben suggested also a hipped roof for the temple of Apollo at Didyma.⁴⁵ Muss seems to agree with Picón and Gruben, although she notices that the most convenient solution for the temple would be a combination of a shed roof on the long sides and a ridged roof on the two short sides.⁴⁶ Only the later Classical temple of the fourth century seems to have had pediments.⁴⁷

Muss gives a very interesting proposition for the arrangement of the sima. She distinguishes fragments with differences in their heights. So she suggests that there were two simas, one high, around the building, and a lower one, around the

43. Picón, 1983: 153f.

44. Fleischer, 1983: 23-30.

45. Gruben, 1963: 152; Picón, 1983:153.

46. Muss, 1994: 60

47. Picón, 1983: 153f.

sekos, which was open to the sky.⁴⁸

Very little of the figured sima frieze has come down to us; according to Pryce only about 1% has survived.⁴⁹ Suggestions for possible themes, based on the surviving fragments, have been made. Fragments of chariots, warriors and horses have survived, which make up the largest group.⁵⁰ Pieces of men and Centaurs suggest a Centauromachy; Picón, in particular, proposed the Centauromachy between Herakles and Pholos as on the Assos frieze.⁵¹ Furthermore some fragments can be combined to reconstruct the figure of Athena, while others belong to huge birds or bird-monsters, like Sirens. Scenes of war combats can also be suspected. One piece (no.B174, Picón no.110) is of particular interest since it represents part of a helmet with bovine horns and ears (Fig.75). A similar helmet can be found on the frieze from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (ca.525 BC) where it belongs to a Giant from the Gigantomachy scene. So the piece from the sima could also belong to a Giant and so suggest a Gigantomachy theme. Moreover pieces of furniture might also suggest a scene like the Council of the Gods as again on the Siphnian Treasury.⁵²

We cannot be sure whether there were narrative scenes on the whole length of the frieze. Picón proposed that part of the frieze was covered by repetitive subjects like the huge birds or the bird-monsters. This is an East Greek practice, a similar example of which is found on the frieze from Assos, which combines narrative

48. Muss, 1994: 63.

49. Picón, 1983: 66.

50. Picón, 1983: 71.

51. Picón, 1983: 67f.

52. Picón, 1983: 67f.

scenes and repetitive motifs.⁵³ The water-spouts, in the form of lion-heads, simply protruded where required interrupting the narrative scenes. The figures did not have a uniform scale while the top of the sima was crowned by a taenia.⁵⁴

Muss also argued that the Ephesian sima should be examined within the tradition of the clay friezes from the area of Asia Minor. Friezes of this kind were used from a very early date for the decoration of the sima. Similar friezes decorated the sima of buildings in Phrygia.⁵⁵ These friezes with either repetitive motifs or metope-like scenes were probably the prototype for the Ephesian sima or simas. Whatever form the sima of the Archaic temple took there is one point on which almost all the scholars agree and that is that the cella was unroofed. It was an open-air court, like that of the temple of Hera at Samos and the Didymaion. Bammer pointed to an Oriental origin for this unroofed court which was at the same time enclosed by high walls.⁵⁶ In the middle of this court stood the sacred cult statue of Artemis. There are many suggestions as to whether this statue stood on a platform or under a baldachin or in a naiskos, while Dinsmoor suggested a pool in the middle of the cella.⁵⁷ Alzinger argued for an altar inside the sekos, which according to him would explain the lack of roof.⁵⁸

According to scholars like Kekulé, Börker and Rügler there was a minor destruction of the Archaic temple by fire in 395 BC, and then its reconstruction.

53. Picón, 1983: 67f.

54. Picón, 1983: 46, 50, 51.

55. Ridgway, 1977: 254, 255.

56. Bammer, 1972: 38.

57. Dinsmoor, 1950: 128.

58. Alzinger, 1985: 60.

This fire is mentioned by ancient sources like Eusebios (ed.A.Schoene II 1866, p.110), while Macrobius (Sat.V, 22, 4-5) refers to a hymn which was dedicated to the consecration of the temple by the Milesian poet Timotheos who died between 365 and 357 at the age of 90. Börker suggested that the hymn was composed for the consecration of the temple after its renovation because of the fire of 395 BC, a period when Timotheos would be at the peak of his artistic production. Börker also connected a half-finished torus, which bears the name of Agesilaos, king of Sparta, with the minor reconstruction of the temple in 395 BC. He supposed that Agesilaos, who stayed in Ephesos during his expedition to Asia Minor, took part in financing the reconstruction of the temple and it was for this reason that his name with his dedication was written on the torus. Wesenberg on the other hand suggested that the half-fluted torus together with three other half-finished pieces belonged to the Archaic phase of the temple, in particular to a period c.500 BC when for some reason the work came to an abrupt stop for a while, leaving these four tori half-fluted. Later Agesilaos inscribed his name on one of them in remembrance of his stay at Ephesos and probably in the area of the Artemision.⁵⁹ As we have already mentioned above, Rügler believes that the third row of columns in the front of the temple was added in the reconstruction of 395 BC.⁶⁰ However Rügler's suggestion is hard to accept. To add one or more rows of columns means that one would have to extend the architrave, the sima and the roof above the columns. This would constitute a major change and we have no further indication

59. Börker, 1980: 69ff; Wesenberg, 1981: 175-180.

60. Rügler, 1988: 18.

of such a large scale reconstruction. Even if we accept the information about the fire of 395 BC, we should suppose that this implied a minor destruction which called for minor repairs and not a major project such as the addition of rows of columns.

In any event the major destruction of the temple occurred in 356 BC, the year of Alexander the Great's birth, when Herostratos set the building on fire. The destruction was complete, and soon afterwards the reconstruction of the replacement Classical temple and perhaps also of the cult-statue started (for the possible new cult-statue, cf. above chapter 4). Architects of the new temple are mentioned as Cheiocrates, Paionios (the architect of the Didymaion too) and Demetrios. Some scholars recognise in the name of Cheiocrates that of Deinocrates, the architect of Alexander the Great.⁶¹ The temple was still under construction in 334 BC when Alexander came to Ephesos and expressed the desire to undertake the completion of the temple. The Ephesians refused his proposal with the flattering answer: "It is not fitting for a god to build a temple to a god". The scholars who are in favour of Cheiocrates being Deinocrates suppose that Alexander departing from Ephesos left behind his architect to complete the project.⁶² The temple was probably completed by the end of the fourth century BC since one of the architects, Paionios, was employed for the construction of the Didymaion by the end of the century.⁶³

The new temple followed the design of its predecessor not only in its general plan

61. Fabricius, *RE*: 2396; Alzinger, *RE*: 1666.

62. Fabricius, *RE*: 2393; Alzinger, *RE*: 1666.

63. Rügler, 1988: 18-19.

but in some key details too and was to that extent Archaizing (Fig.73). However there were some differences. Starting from the platform, on which the temple was erected, this was higher than that of the Archaic temple. It was about 2,75 m in height and the temple was reached by a flight of fourteen steps instead of two in the Archaic one. The platform was not only higher but larger as well, since its length at ground-level was c.137, 80 m and on the stylobate c.128, 20 m. Probably one of the steps of the platform was wider than the rest leaving a walk-way around the building. Rügler, again, suggested that if we add a fourth row of columns on the front then the dimensions would change to 143,70 m and 134, 10 m respectively, making a total of 125-127 columns. As was mentioned above, it is possible that in the new temple there were more rows of columns than in the Archaic one, which means a greater total of columns, in which case Pliny's number of columns (127) may have applied to the later temple. Furthermore Bammer suggested that the new temple might have had an opisthodomos instead of the adyton that the Archaic probably had.⁶⁴ This is not unlikely for the mid fourth century since other Ionic temples of the same period, like that of Athena at Priene had an opisthodomos. The architects kept the same Ephesian type of column bases as the Archaic temple which rested on square plinths, only this time the plinths were wider, 2, 64 m (instead of 2, 20 - 2, 36 m). The later temple was also decorated with sculptured column drums and pedestals. Many fragments of them have been found, coming in their majority from the West side of the temple. In its Archaic predecessor

64. Bammer, 1966: 27ff.

these were found on both sides. This should probably be an indication that in the Classical temple only the West front was adorned with columnae caelatae. However only one of the columnae caelatae survives complete in the British Museum; it probably represents Hermes and Thanatos leading Alkestis or Eurydice (BM 1206) (Fig.76). It is noteworthy that despite the Archaic concept of the use of columnae caelatae, the actual sculptures carved on them are in no way Archaizing. The reconstructions of the form of the Archaic columnae caelatae considered above can also be applied to the new temple. The lower diameter of the columns is now uniform, and not only that but it is also greater than that of its predecessor, 1, 83 m instead of 1, 35 m. However the column spacing seems to retain the variable form of the Archaic building. The height of the columns is 10 times the lower diameter and 7 times the length of the plinths, that is c.18, 30m or c.60 Attic ft, which confirms Pliny's figure for the height of the columns. The correlation of the column height, being 7 times the length of the plinth, is also a feature of the temple of Artemis at Sardis and of the Didymaion.⁶⁵ The new columns have 24 flutes instead of the 40 or more of the Archaic temple. However, as in its predecessor, there is no correspondence between the flutes and the eggs of the echinus above. Although the eggs are bigger now and there are only three on the front of the echinus, and not four as on the Archaic version, still the lack of correspondence is visible, and there are only 18 eggs for 24 flutes. The beads of the astragal below the eggs have a ratio of 3:2 to the flutes of the shaft.⁶⁶ The

65. Bammer, 1966: 27ff.

66. Bammer, 1972: 18f.

entablature is also friezeless above the tri-fasciaed architrave with dentils flanked by Ionic kymatia. The ratio between the eggs of the kymation and the beads of the astragal below is 1:3. The same ratio can be found in Archaic examples like on a kymation from Delphi.⁶⁷ Whereas there are no certain indications for the existence of a pediment in the Archaic temple, the classical temple certainly had them. Representations on Ephesian coins, which depict the later temple, show a pediment with three openings in the form of windows, and the temple of Artemis at Magnesia had similar windows in its pediment. They probably served a dual function, tectonic and ritual. The first one was to lighten the load of the pediment, while the second was to present the epiphany of the goddess to her worshippers through the middle window.⁶⁸

Summarising the evidence we have of the Classical temple, we can conclude that it preserved the basic features of its Archaic predecessor: a large monument with a "forest of columns", unusual decoration (*columnae caelatae*) and an open court in the interior. It was after all erected on the foundations of its predecessor, and each column stood where the Archaic forerunner had been. Furthermore the Classical temple kept some visible features of the Archaic monument, such as the form of the column bases, the lack of correspondence between the flutes of the columns and the eggs of the echinus, and the variation in the column spacings. The arrangement of the tri-fasciaed architrave with the dentils and the Ionic mouldings on top looks typical of the later fourth century BC, although it may possibly derive

67. Bammer, 1972: 30.

68. Trell, 1988: 95-98.

from the sixth century building, for which we have no surviving evidence.

However the main question is, why did the new temple adopt such an Archaic architectural appearance? The answer lies perhaps in the importance and fame of the temple already established from the Archaic period. A monument which was erected under the patronage of Croesus and was intended to bind all the different people of the area into a single religion became very soon one of the most important cult-centres of Asia Minor.⁶⁹ When the temple was destroyed in the fourth century BC the Ephesians probably wanted to preserve the fame of their sanctuary to emphasise its continuity from the Archaic period, and so erected a temple which resembled its predecessor. This need probably explains the use of Archaisms. Another factor which can explain the Archaisms in the Artemision is the political motive. According to Bammer the need of the Ionian cities for autonomy in the fourth century BC was expressed through Architecture. The persistence of the traditional forms can be seen particularly in the columnae caelatae of the Artemision.⁷⁰

Before closing the discussion about the Artemision a reference should be made to the temple Xenophon dedicated to Artemis at his estate at Skillous near Olympia. According to Xenophon himself (*Anabasis* 5, 3, 4-13) and Pausanias (V, 6, 5-6), when Xenophon returned from his expedition in Asia Minor and after his exile from Athens, he dedicated a part of his estate at Skillous to the Ephesian Artemis. There he built a temple to the goddess, which, although small, was a copy of the

69. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 52-53.

70. Bammer and Muss, 1996: 54-55.

great temple at Ephesos. Inside the temple was the cult-image of the goddess which also was a copy of the Ephesian xoanon. This information makes us think that this copy of the Ephesian temple might show a kind of "Archaistic approach" in nostalgic mentality, expressed in the desire in the fourth century BC to copy a monument of the Archaic period instead of creating a new one according to the fashion of the time.

b. Archaistic details in the architecture of Labraunda

At approximately the same period as the construction of the Mausoleum,⁷¹ a temple was rebuilt in the remote sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda. Thanks to the dedicatory inscription on the epistyle, "Idrieus, son of Heka[tomnos, Mylasan, dedicated the temple] to [Zeus Labraun]dos", we have a terminus ante quem for the monument, before 344 BC, when Idrieus died. The temple was a peripteros with 6x8 columns. The distances between the columns were equal while at the same time the columns were quite widely spaced. The measurements of the stylobate, which was the uppermost part of the three stepped crepidoma, were 13,85 x 18,71 m. The temple had a pronaos with two columns in antis, a square cella, a feature not unusual in traditional Carian architecture, and, a very shallow opisthodomos with also two columns in antis. Two building phases can be distinguished: in the first one the temple probably consisted only of the cella and a distyle-in-antis pronaos. This phase can be hypothetically placed in the time of Hekatomnos, 392-

71. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 46.

377 BC, when we have the first Greek inscription from the sanctuary bearing his name. The second phase can be placed between 351-344 BC, the time of Idrieus' reign. It seems possible that Idrieus during his reign emphasised the origin of himself and his family from Mylasa, since on the dedicatory inscription of Andron A he uses the ethnic "Mylaseus" to indicate his origin. It is also possible that he gave back to Mylasa the important role it had before the moving of the capital to Halicarnassus. Consequently he supported the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda which was the major sanctuary and which was probably controlled by the city of Mylasa. As his brother before had undertaken a major building programme in Halicarnassus, Idrieus now did the same at the site of Labraunda, where the temple of Zeus, Andron A and Oikoi buildings were parts of this programme (Fig.81). In this second phase we have an enlargement of the temple with the addition of a peristasis and the opisthodomos.⁷²

The bases of the Zeus temple are of the Ephesian type like in the previously mentioned monuments, and as on the Mausoleum and at Priene the ratio between plinth, spira and torus is 3:3:2.⁷³ The top of the column shaft, below the echinus, ends in a roundel, like on the Mausoleum and Priene, but as on the Mausoleum the roundel is plain.⁷⁴

The capitals of the temple have their pulvinus decorated. The decorated pulvini and the pattern which is used, the anthemion-lyre, are both Archaistic features

72. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 39.

73. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 51.

74. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 52.

(Fig.79). This motif can be found, for example, on the capitals of the Polycrates Heraion at Samos. The ratio between the horizontal width of the volutes and the echinus is 7:10:7, like on the Mausoleum.⁷⁵ There is also no correspondence between the eggs of the echinus and the flutes of the columns. This element finds comparison in the Archaic Artemision.

Apart from the column capitals there are the anta capitals as well. The decoration of the anta capitals at Labraunda consists of a zone of a lesbian-leaf motif, followed by a lotus-and-palmette and finally an ovolo. On the returns there are two double volutes which rise from acanthus leaves. There is a perfect axial alignment between the patterns of the three zones (Fig.80 a-b). This type of symmetrical anta capital can also be found at the temple of Athena Polias at Priene.⁷⁶

The epistyle of the temple was two-fasciaed instead of the usual three. The two-fasciaed epistyle has probably a local origin, as can be assumed from examples like the Heroon from Limyra and rock-cut tombs of Lycia. Furthermore another Hekatomnid monument, the temple at Amyzon, also had a two-fasciaed epistyle. Generally we can say that already from the Archaic period there was a freedom in the treatment of the epistyle, whether using two or three fascias, and in the forms of decoration.⁷⁷

The same Doric features as on the temple of Athena Polias at Priene can be

75. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 53.

76. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 53.

77. Hellström and Thieme, 1982: 53.

found on the temple of Zeus at Labraunda, that is the curvature of the crepidoma, a three-stepped crepidoma and a shallow opisthodomos with two columns in antis.

At the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda, there are two buildings of a peculiar type. Thanks to the dedicatory inscriptions we know of their use as Andrones or dining rooms, and that their dedicators, were Mausolus (Andron B) and Idrieus (Andron A). Accordingly we have an approximate dating for both buildings, for Andron B in the 360's BC and for Andron A before 344.⁷⁸

Both of the Andrones have the same design, a double columned porch and a rectangular room with a niche in the centre of the wall opposite the entrance. There seem to be two kinds of pavements, the original one and another one set higher up. This second one was at a distance of 1 m from the walls all around the room and it was probably used for the dining couches and the tables. In the niches there were probably placed statues of Zeus in between portraits of the satrapal couples, in Andron B between Mausolus and Artemisia and in Andron A between Idrieus and Ada. They would probably have resembled the representation of Zeus Stratios between Ada and Idrieus in the relief from Tegea.⁷⁹ According to Hellström the arrangement of the niches inside the Andron led to the formation of a new type of banqueting hall. In this type there was emphasised the "ranking order within the society". Until now there had been no such distinctions in the Classical type of Andrones.⁸⁰ Although there was not a real ruler's cult at Labraunda and the

78. Gunter, 1995: 62, argues that Andron B is earlier than both the temple of Zeus at Labraunda and the Mausoleum, on account of its *in antis* design.

79. Waywell, 1993: 79-86.

80. Hellström, 1990: 248.

statues within the Andrones were not cult-images the overall impression was that of buildings made for a ruler's cult.⁸¹ As was mentioned above, their use was as banqueting halls probably for the wealthy and important guests at the festival of the god.⁸² Two interesting features of the Andrones are their columns and their anta capitals. The column capitals of Andron B have the same decorated pulvinus as the capitals from the temple of Zeus in the same sanctuary. On Andron B also the anta capitals follow the same pattern of the three superimposed zones of mouldings and the acanthus leaves on the returns; however they do not have the symmetry of the examples from Priene and the temple of Zeus at the same sanctuary. There are seven Lesbian leaves, six palmettes and seven ovolo eggs. The reason for this asymmetry is the greater height of the middle zone which is in direct connection with the size of the acanthus pattern on the returns. Predecessors of this type were anta capitals from the Rhoikos altar at Samos, from the Altar at Cape Monodendri and from the Archaic Didymaion. Finally in the same tradition are the anta capitals from the Nereid monument and the Heroon at Limyra.⁸³

The peculiarity of the two dining rooms at Labraunda lies in the design of their facades, which had a combination of Ionic columns with a Doric entablature (Fig.78). This combination of Ionic and Doric elements was also found in the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, a little later. However, the nature of the two examples seems to be different. In the Priene temple what we have is an infusion

81. Hellström, 1990: 249.

82. Hellström, 1989: 98-104.

83. Hellström, 1997.

of some Doric elements into the Ionic design of the temple. The purpose of this was the enrichment of the symmetry of the temple. The additions were elegant and they did not irritate the aesthetic form of the building. The combination, on the other hand, of the different elements on the two Andrones is of a different character. It lacks the elegance and the discretion of the former example. This obvious and straightforward mixing of different elements reminds one of the Mausoleum (the mixing of elements from different cultures). As in the Mausoleum the decision for this combination was probably based on the personal taste of their patrons. As Hornblower pointed out this fusion of styles was usually observed in areas with mixed populations like S.Italy and Sicily.⁸⁴ In these areas already from Archaic times we find a combination of Ionic elements in the Doric order. Although in Magna Graecia the infusion was of Ionic elements into the Doric order, since the Doric order was the predominant style there, the idea behind this combination was the same as in the fourth-century Asiatic examples, the mixing together, not always successfully in aesthetical terms, of elements from different architectural orders.

In the case of the Andron of Mausolus (Andron B) there is one more particular element worthy of comment apart from the mixing of the Doric and Ionic orders, and that is the use of Persianizing male sphinxes as acroteria on the building. The use of sphinxes as acroteria in the fourth century is an Archaistic feature in itself. Sphinxes as acroteria were quite common in Archaic times while their use was very

84. Hornblower, 1982: 55.

limited in the Classical period. The form of the sphinxes is mainly influenced from Persian prototypes. Although they present Greek Archaistic elements such as the long side locks and the rendering of the feathers on the wings (for the stephane on the forehead and the possible rendering in snail-shell-curly, cf. chapter 3), their sex (male) and their general appearance come from Persian examples.⁸⁵

Comparative evidence for the Archaistic details at Labraunda is found on a random architectural fragment. It is the upper part of a column, now in the British Museum, which was found by A.H. Smith built into the Castle of Bodrum (Fig. 77). The state of preservation is not very good, the height of the fragment is c. 57, 3 cm while its diameter c. 97 cm. The decorative pattern is composed of lotus flowers with three leaves and palmettes with seven leaves, each one springing from a double volute motif, while under each lotus flower there is an acanthus pattern. The spiral of the volutes continues downwards forming a lyre-like pattern and ending on another volute placed in the opposite direction to the first. In the space which is created between the two opposing lyre-motifs there is a palmette with seven leaves. The comparable examples of this lyre-motif seem to come from Archaic Samos. The columns of the Heraion of Polycrates had a similar pattern on their necks. However the history of the lyre-motif seems to be even earlier. The first examples are on the Melian amphorae of the seventh century BC and the area of Cyclades was probably the region from where the motif began. The same pattern, in many cases in combination with an acanthus motif, can also be found on

85. Gunter, 1995: 25-30; cf. above chapter 3.

the pulvinus of the capitals. Pedersen who studied the pattern, distinguished two groups, one belonging to column-necks with this motif, and the other belonging to capitals which also have the same motif. A typical example of this second group is the pulvinus decoration of two capitals from Labraunda as we have already seen, from Andron B and the Zeus temple. There is also the possibility that the motif was used at the same time on both capitals and column-necks. The motif was in use during the Archaic period and until the middle of the fifth century BC. However only in South Italy and Sicily does the motif continue to be in use as representations on coins and vases prove. In Asia Minor its continuity seems to be interrupted during the second half of the fifth century and it subsequently reappears in the fourth century and especially during the reign of Mausolus and his dynasty.⁸⁶

At the end of this chapter we should summarise the reasons for the appearance of Archaistic elements in the Ionic architecture of the fourth century BC. We may divide the monuments of the area into two categories, the "new monuments" such as the temple and the dining rooms at Labraunda, and the "old ones" which were reconstructed versions of Archaic buildings. Beginning with the latter the most typical example is that of the Artemision at Ephesos. The reconstruction of the temple in the fourth century called for an emphasis on the continuity of the importance and the fame of the sanctuary. This need can explain why the architects of the Classical temple chose to follow the design of its Archaic predecessor in both general plan and decorative details. Not that the later temple

86. Pedersen, 1983: 87-121.

was an exact copy of the Archaic one, but it followed its design in many aspects such as the ground plan (with some alterations, such as the possible addition of more rows of columns) and the decoration with *columnae caelatae*. We should not exclude from the reasons for the preference for Archaic elements the political motive. As Bammer pointed out we can detect a feeling for autonomy, especially from Athenian control, behind this preference. Instead of choosing the Attic-Ionic order they preferred to follow their own traditional forms. The same reasons can be suggested also for the temple of Apollo at Didyma, another great temple of particular importance and fame, which was probably constructed under the patronage of a king (Cyrus). After its destruction a new reconstruction started at the end of the fourth century (a few decades after the reconstruction of the Artemision). It shared the same architect as the Artemision, Paionios, and it probably followed, in some general points, the design of its predecessor.

In the case of the Labraunda buildings the Archaisms and the mixture of Doric and Ionic elements seem to have more to do with the Hekatomnid policy and tastes. The return to the old Ionic forms of architecture, a phenomenon which has already been named "Ionian Renaissance", was a way to emphasise the new era which had begun for the Carian and the Ionian cities under the powerful rule of Mausolus and his dynasty. The cities found again the glory they had in the Archaic period and the best way to express this was through buildings which had some elements of Archaic appearance. Furthermore the combination of Greek Ionic elements with the traditional local architecture which can be found on the Mausoleum, probably gives the best example of Mausolus' policy: a mixture of both Greek and Carian

elements was the identity of the new empire which was created. As in the case of the use of the Archaic curled hairstyle by members of the Hekatomnid family as a link with their past, the combination of traditional Archaic Greek and Carian architectural elements can be seen as another attempt to emphasise continuity from former achievements.

7. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this thesis we shall try to summarise the evidence which has been presented in the previous chapters, and to examine it in connection with the development of the Archaistic style in Attica and the historical background of the period.

In the first half of the fourth century BC there appears in the area of Asia Minor a kind of hairstyle which recalls Archaic types. It consists of multiple rows of snail-shell-like curls arranged over the forehead of the figures (mainly females). There has been disagreement among the scholars as to the origin of this type of hairstyle, whether it was Persian or Archaic Greek. Our study of the snail-shell motif in chapter one suggests to this writer that its inspiration was Archaic Greek, even if the ultimate origin was in the art of the Near East.

The first indications of the use of a curled motif for the rendering of the hair come from Assyrian art. The motif is very common in the rendering of the hair and the beard in parallel rows of tight spiral curls. There are many examples of this treatment in the representations of human and divine figures in the reliefs from the Assyrian palaces. Other people of the area seem to borrow the motif from the Assyrians. Examples from Syria probably show that the motif came to Greece through that area. The first examples made their appearance in Greece already in the seventh century BC. They come from areas which were in close connection with the East, such as Samos and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta. Figures of the Daedalic style, such as the Auxerre Kore, usually wore one row of curls on their foreheads. The motif continued in use within the Archaic period on

both male and female figures. The treatment of the spiral curls gradually became more advanced. Very often the curls were parted in the middle of the forehead and they curled in opposite directions. Within the sixth century and especially near its end the foreheads of many figures were decorated with more than one row of curls. Two, three or even more rows formed a kind of stephane on the foreheads of the statues. At the same period the curled motif appeared on vase-paintings and in relief sculpture. Later we find the same motif on black-figure vases while in the red-figure works the motif is not only commoner but exhibits a greater variation too. The multiple rows of curls were depicted not only in the usual manner but as painted dots or plastic globules.

At the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century BC, we find examples of this hairstyle in Persian art such as the Bisutun relief or the royal tombs at Naksh-i Rostam and the reliefs from Persepolis. Observing the rendering of the hair we can see that the curled motif was now quite common in Persian art. However the treatment of the motif was different from that found in Greece and it was not used for women. Usually there was one row on top of the head and immediately under it there was a row of flame-like locks. The back of the head was also decorated with rows of curls. This rendering of the forehead curls is different from that in Greek art where the rows lie directly on the forehead without any other kind of locks underneath. This comparison also suggests that, although the origin of the motif is the same for both Greek and Persian art (i.e. Assyrian art), the treatment and the development of the motif is different. Most importantly the rendering of the hair in the fourth century BC examples shows that their origin was from

Archaic Greece, and specifically the art of the late sixth century BC, rather than being derived from Persian models.

The use of the curled motif did not stop with the end of the Archaic period but continued into the first half of the fifth century BC. The examples from Olympia (Apollo from the West pediment of the temple of Zeus and Hippodamia from the East) were the last from the early Classical period. There then followed a period of about thirty years when the motif ceased to exist, after which around 430 BC it was employed again, but this time, in our opinion, it appeared as an Archaistic rather than an Archaic element. The Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes was the first work of the second half of the fifth century BC to have carried multiple rows of curls on its forehead. The rows of curls were an indication that the herm was a reflection of works of the Archaic period.

Alkamenes' herm was subsequently followed by other works with the same rendering of the hair, but these examples come from Asia Minor and not Attica. The most important of them were the female heads from the Mausoleum and the portrait of "Ada" from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. As most of these figures were undoubtedly portraits of members the Hekatomnid dynasty, the Archaistic rendering of the hair takes on a special significance, suggesting, perhaps, an attempt by the ruling family of Caria to emphasise a link with the past. Such a backward-looking genealogical attitude is hinted at by other evidence. A head of Apollo from the Mausoleum, like the Apollo introduced on the coins of Mausolus, may have referred to a divine ancestor of the Hekatomnids. An earlier "Mausolus", son of Apollo, may have been referred to in Theodektes' tragedy,

Mausolus, written for the funeral games of Mausolus in 352 BC. Artemisia's name also brought to mind the famous Halicarnassian queen of the Persian Wars. Although there was apparently no actual blood link with her distinguished namesake, this may have been added reason for implying that there was such a link through adoption of a late-Archaic curled hairstyle. A portrait of the earlier Artemisia was included among the Persian images on the Persian Stoa at Sparta according to Pausanias (III.11.2), but there is no evidence to indicate how she was represented, or when the stoa with its remarkable sculpture was actually built.

Apart from the examples from the Mausoleum and Ada's portrait from Priene, there are other works, too, which carry the same motif and they are connected, in one way or the other, to the Carian dynasty. Foremost among them is the Tegea relief which depicts Ada and Idrieus standing with Zeus of Labraunda between them. The rendering of the front hair on Ada indicates the use of the curled hairstyle. Another example of this kind is a statue of a woman from Cos. The island was at that time under strong Carian influence but the significance of the use of the hairstyle is uncertain.

The picture of Archaism in Asia Minor is completed with the presentation of the Archaic images of gods and goddesses which decorated the temples of the area. Asia Minor was an area rich in Archaic images of gods. The most important among them was that of Artemis of Ephesos. With the rows of the so-called "breasts" decorating the chest, the metallic Ependytes enveloping her lower body and a polos covering her head, her image has similarities to Anatolian goddesses of nature and fertility. Other goddesses of the area, such as Aphrodite of Aphrodisias

and Artemis of Sardis, were influenced by the Ephesian goddess. Another important deity of the area was Hera of Samos. Hera belonged to the same group of great Anatolian goddesses. She presented the same non-Greek decoration of her cult-image with a quite complex head-dress, cross-bands decorating her chest and an Ependytes covering her lower body. Apart from the female deities there were male deities, too, who manifested unusual, non-Greek, features. The best example was Zeus of Labraunda, with a triangle of breast-like motifs hanging on his chest. The majority of the representations of these deities comes from Hellenistic and Roman times. An exception to this is the Tegea relief, which gives us an idea of what the cult-statue of Zeus at Labraunda looked like in the period under consideration. For the rest of the gods and goddesses we can only surmise how they looked. However what is of importance here is that during the fourth century there were in Asia Minor a number of deities with an Archaic appearance, in a kind of living testimony to the past.

Furthermore if it was the case that the Archaic cult-image of the Ephesian Artemis was replaced by a new one with an Archaic-looking appearance, after the fire of 356 BC, then we would have a deliberate Archaism. The intention would have been for the new statue to resemble the old one as closely as possible, in order to emphasise the continuity of the cult. The cult-images of Artemis of Sardis, Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and other similar deities followed this Archaic-looking image of Artemis of the fourth century BC, so providing further indications for the spread of Archaism in Asia Minor.

From this examination we have the picture of an area (i.e. Ionia and Caria) where elements of the past had been preserved in the cult-images of the gods and in monuments like the Artemision which had survived into the fourth century BC. At the same time a new process seems to begin of a return to the past which is expressed especially through architecture. This process can be understood as the spirit of the "Ionian Renaissance". Such a procedure, however, had already started during the last decades of the fifth century BC in Attica. The first Archaistic works were made by Alkamenes, namely Hermes Propylaios and Hekate Epipyrgidia. Both of these works were not fully archaized but they included some Archaic elements like the garments of Hekate and the hairstyle of Hermes. The phenomenon of Archaism continues in Mainland Greece in the fourth century BC. The examples now are more numerous and are fully archaized. The development of the Archaistic style in Attica and Mainland Greece co-exists with the appearance and development of Archaism in Asia Minor. Can we detect any connection between the two parallel developments? The answer is not certain, for the evidence is not sufficient to help us form a clear idea. The only thing we can offer are some tentative suggestions about a possible connection which are supported by a few indications. Since the phenomenon of Archaism seems to begin in Mainland Greece and especially in Attica in the late fifth century BC, then we can probably suggest that it was from there that the idea spread to Asia Minor. However during the fourth century BC we have some works in Mainland Greece which are connected with Asia Minor and especially with the areas under consideration, namely Ionia and Caria.

These monuments are the Tegea relief and the temple which Xenophon dedicated to Artemis at his estate at Skillous. The first one, as has already been mentioned, represents the satrapal couple of Caria, Ada and Idrieus, and their patron god Zeus of Labraunda. With this relief we have an example of Carian Archaism in Mainland Greece in the middle of the fourth century (cf. Ada's and Zeus' hairstyle and Zeus' representation as an Archaic xoanon). The second example is the temple that Xenophon dedicated to Artemis Ephesia when he returned from the expedition to Asia Minor. The temple was reported to be a copy of the great temple of the goddess in Ephesos while the cult-image in it was also a copy of the cult-statue in Ephesos. In this way an example of Archaic Ionic architecture and sculpture was transferred to Mainland Greece in the early fourth century. These examples are sufficient to suggest that there was a two-way process at work between Attic and Ionian art in the development of the Archaistic style, even if we cannot be sure precisely what the interconnection was and in which direction the principal line of influence lay. One thing which remains clear, however, is that already from the end of the fifth century BC and certainly in the fourth century BC there was a growing tendency towards Archaism in Greek art. This tendency was not limited to Mainland Greece but it spread to the Eastern coast of the Aegean sea too. Furthermore the examples from Asia Minor show that the turn back to the past through the use of some typical elements of previous times, such as the curled hairstyle, was fully conscious. Another point to be made is that the examination of the examples of Archaism in the previous chapters shows that there were a number of reasons responsible for the revival of Archaic elements. These reasons included

religious conservatism, and continuity, a desire to find a link with the past or to create something new combining features from different times and different styles or a need to convey different qualities in multi-figured scenes in vase-painting and sculpture.

Finally a last reference should be made to two important aspects of this work: the curled hairstyle and the Hekatomnid family. As we have already seen the first one came from the East during the seventh century BC among many other Orientalising elements. It was incorporated in Greek art, it was developed and it became quite a common feature of Archaic art. It is one of the few Archaic features which survived into the first half of the fifth century. It was then one of the first to appear again before the end of this century as an Archaistic element, and significantly was used in the fourth century as an Archaistic element on female portraits of the Hekatomnid family among which the women members wielded unusual power. The hairstyle continued to be in use after the end of the period under consideration.

The Hekatomnids were the patrons of some of the most characteristic buildings which combined Archaic elements in their designs. Furthermore the use of the Archaic hairstyle by the female members of the family arguably shows a special interest of the family in Archaic culture and events, and if we suspect that their patronage was a reason for this revival, then we might also suspect that one of the reasons for this interest was for contemporary propaganda. For the Hekatomnids Archaism of hairstyle was being employed to promote their past, and through that

to establish hegemony over as great an area as possible of Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean.

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Fig. 1 Tribute-bearers from the Apadana staircase at Persepolis



Fig. 2 Persian guard from the royal palace at Persepolis



Fig. 3 Ivory statuette from Samos



Fig. 4 Kleobis from Delphi



Fig. 5 Biton from Delphi



Fig. 6 Kouros from the Thera cemetery, Athens NM 8



Fig. 7 Aristodikos, Athens NM 3938



Fig. 8 b “Strangford Apollo”, in London, BM B 475

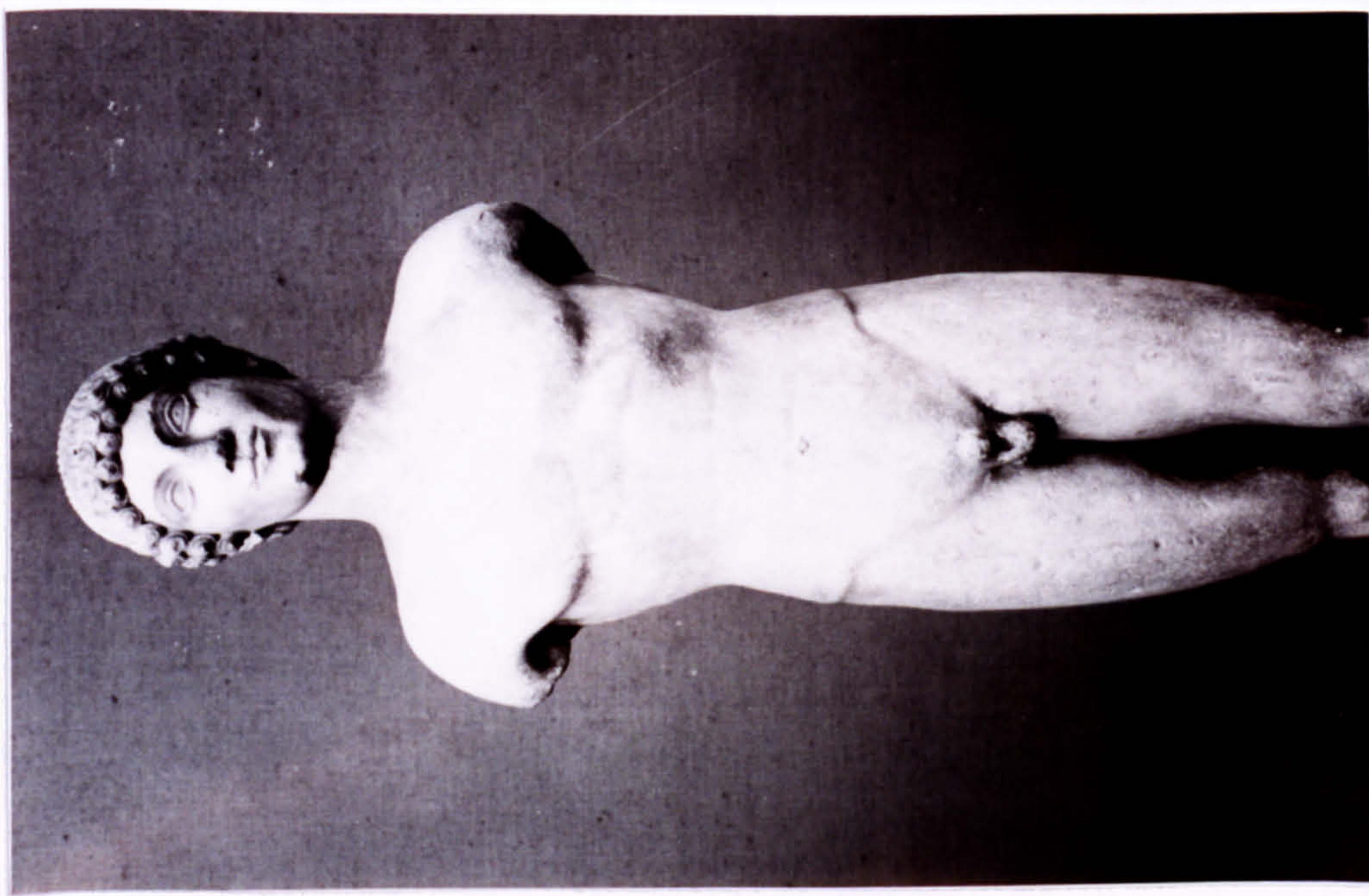


Fig. 8a “Strangford Apollo”, in London, BM B 475



Fig. 9 Theseus from the pediment of the temple of Apollo at Eretria



Fig. 10 Aristion's stele, Athens NM 29



Fig. 11 Kouros from Anavysos, Kroisos. Athens NM 3851



Fig. 12 Head from Cyprus, London BM C 151



Fig. 13 head of a worshipper from Cyprus, London BM C 79



Fig. 14 Kore, Acropolis 676



Fig. 15 The "Blond Boy" from the Acropolis



Fig. 16 a The so-called “charioteer” from Motya



Fig. 16 b Head of the Motya “charioteer”



Fig. 17 Terracotta group from Olympia: Zeus and Ganymedes



Fig. 18 Hipodamia from the temple of Zeus at Olympia



Fig. 19 Apollo from the temple of Zeus at Olympia



Fig. 20 Hermes Propylaia of Alkamenes. Ephesos type



Fig. 21 Hermes Propylaia of Alkamenes. Pergamon type



Fig. 22 a Hekataion in the British School at Athens, S 21



Fig. 22b Hekataion in the British School at Athens, S 21



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Fig. 23 Xenokrateia relief. Athens NM 2756



Fig. 24 Janiform vase from Lycia, BM 1962.12-12.1



Fig. 25 b Sphinx from Labraunda



Fig. 25 a Sphinx from Labraunda



Fig. 25 d Sphinx from Labraunda



Fig. 25 c Sphinx from Labraunda



Fig. 26 Sphinx from Labraunda



Fig. 27 “Artemisia” from the Mausoleum, London BM 1001



Fig. 28 “Artemisia” from the Mausoleum, London BM 1001



Fig. 29 a Head from the Mausoleum, London BM 1051



Fig. 29 b Head from the Mausoleum, London BM 1051



Fig. 30 Head from the Mausoleum, London BM 1052



Fig. 31 Head from the Mausoleum, London BM 1053



Fig. 32 Terracotta head from Halicarnassus, BM C 512 A

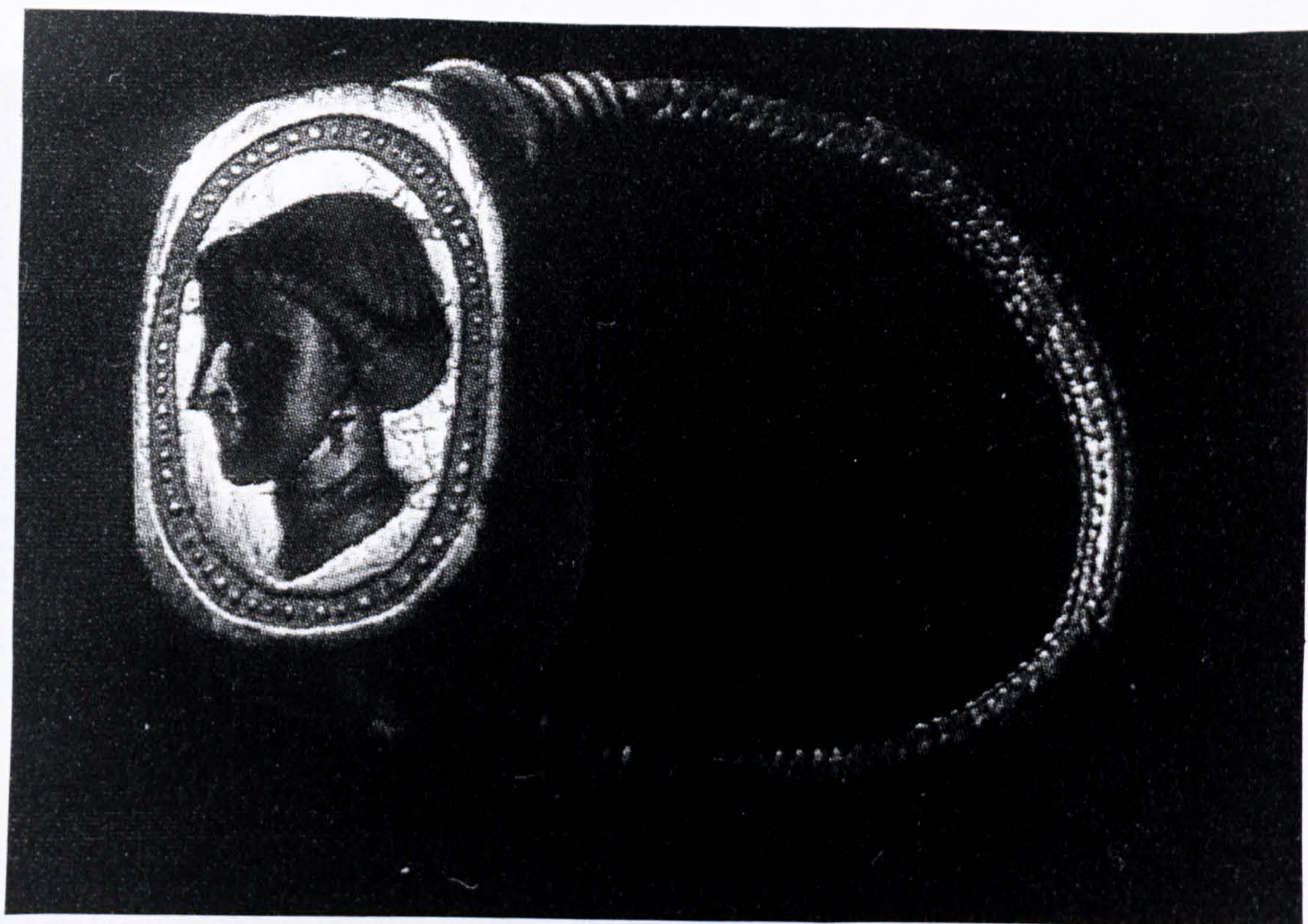


Fig. 33 Gem from the tomb of the Carian princess at Halicarnassus



Fig. 34 b Female portrait from Priene, possibly Ada,
London BM 1151



Fig. 34 a Female portrait from Priene, possibly Ada,
London BM 1151



Fig. 35 Girl from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. BM 1153



Fig. 36 a Female head from the temple of Demeter at Priene,
Berlin 1535



Fig. 36 b Female head from the temple of Demeter at Priene,
Berlin 1535



Fig. 37 a Female head from the temple of Demeter at Priene,
Berlin 1536



Fig. 37 b Female head from the temple of Demeter at Priene,
Berlin 1536

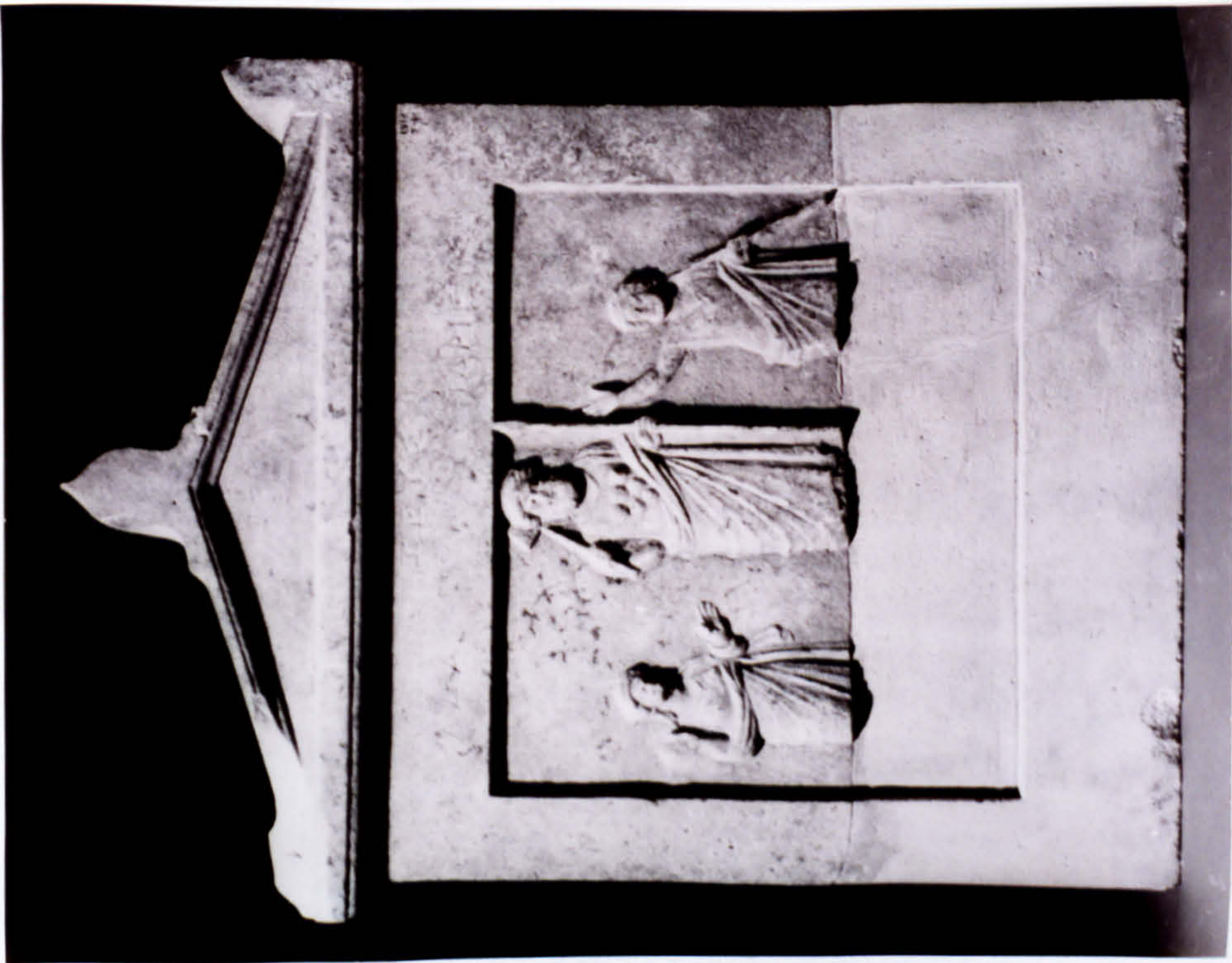


Fig. 38 The Tegea relief, London BM 1914.7-14.1



Fig. 39 Artemis herm from Sparta, Sparta Museum

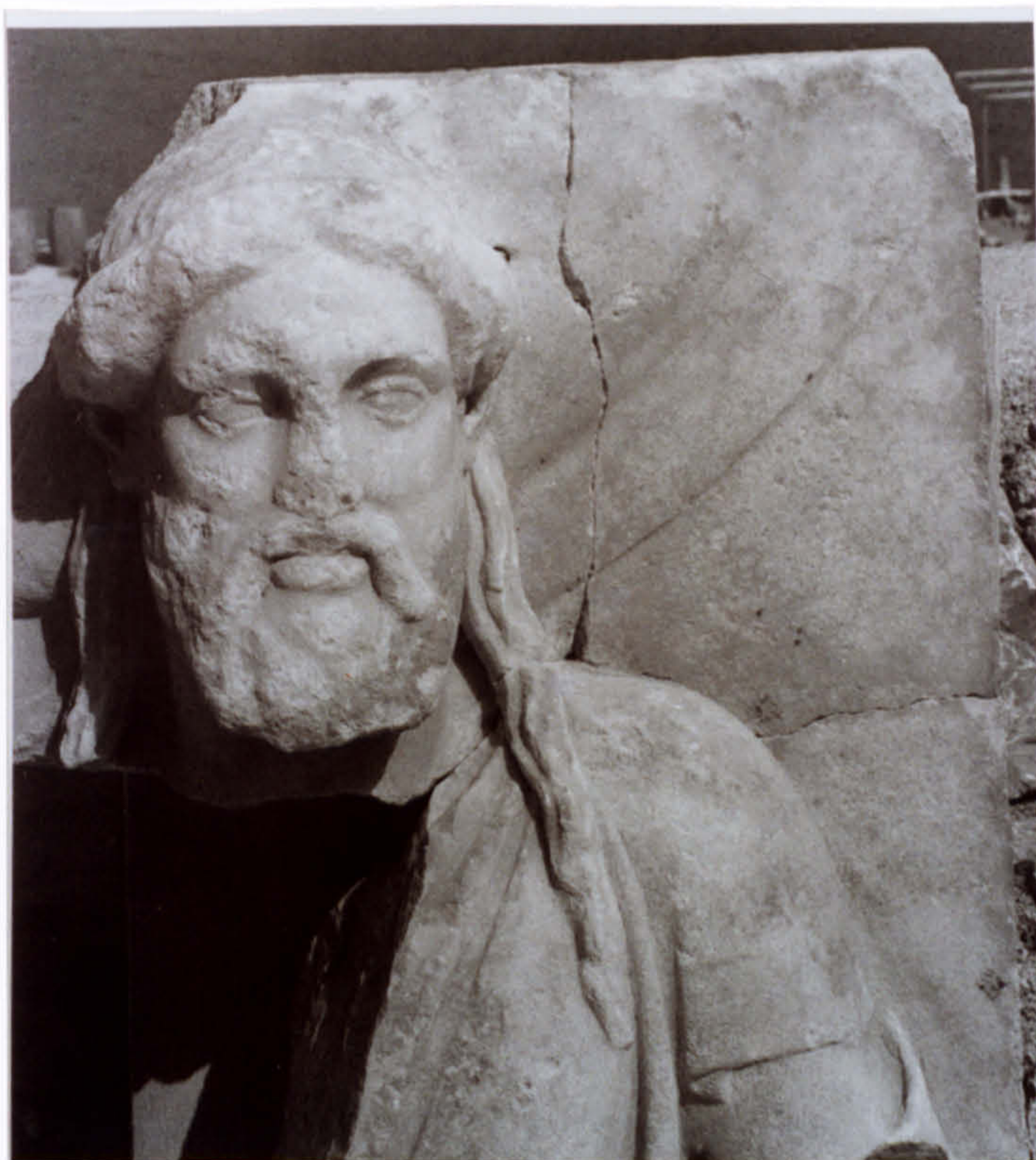


Fig. 40 Relief from Iasos



Fig. 41 Psychostasia scene from a Lycian monument



Fig. 42 Female statue from Cos. Cos Museum 13



Fig. 43 Grave-stele of Demetria and Pamphile, Kerameikos



Fig. 44 Grave-stele, Athens NM 768+1174

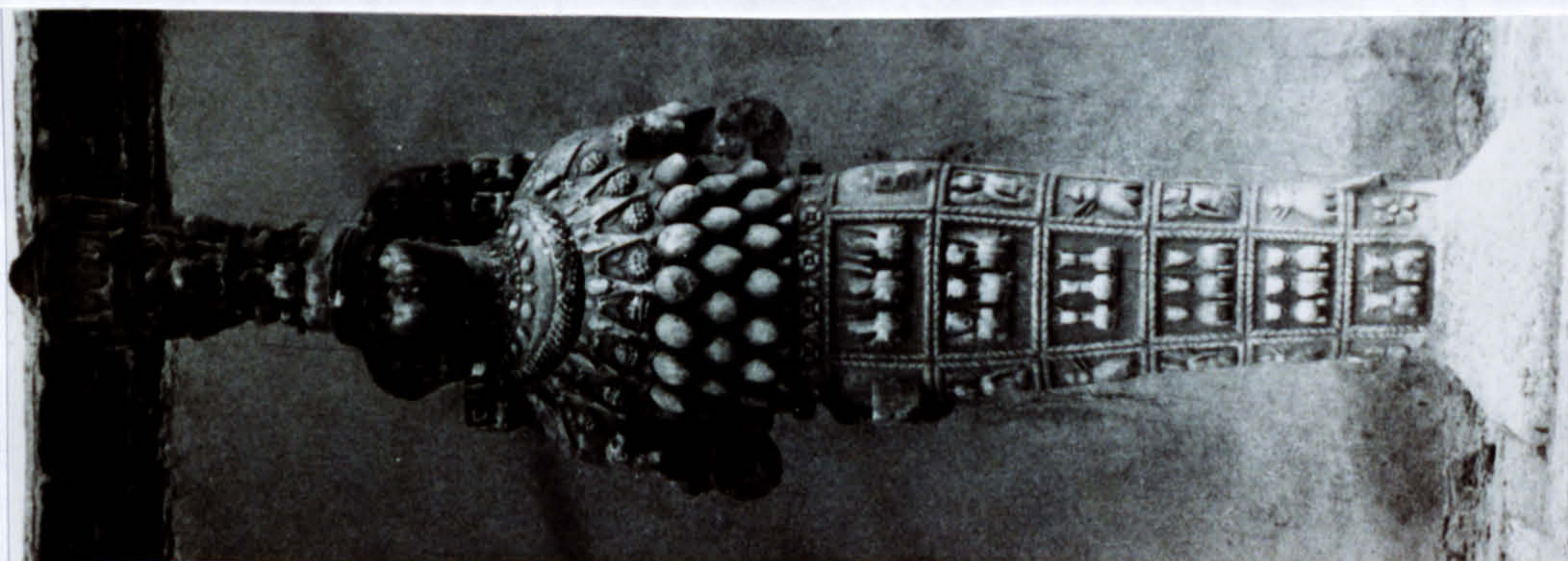


Fig. 46 Statue of Artemis of Ephesos, Selçuk

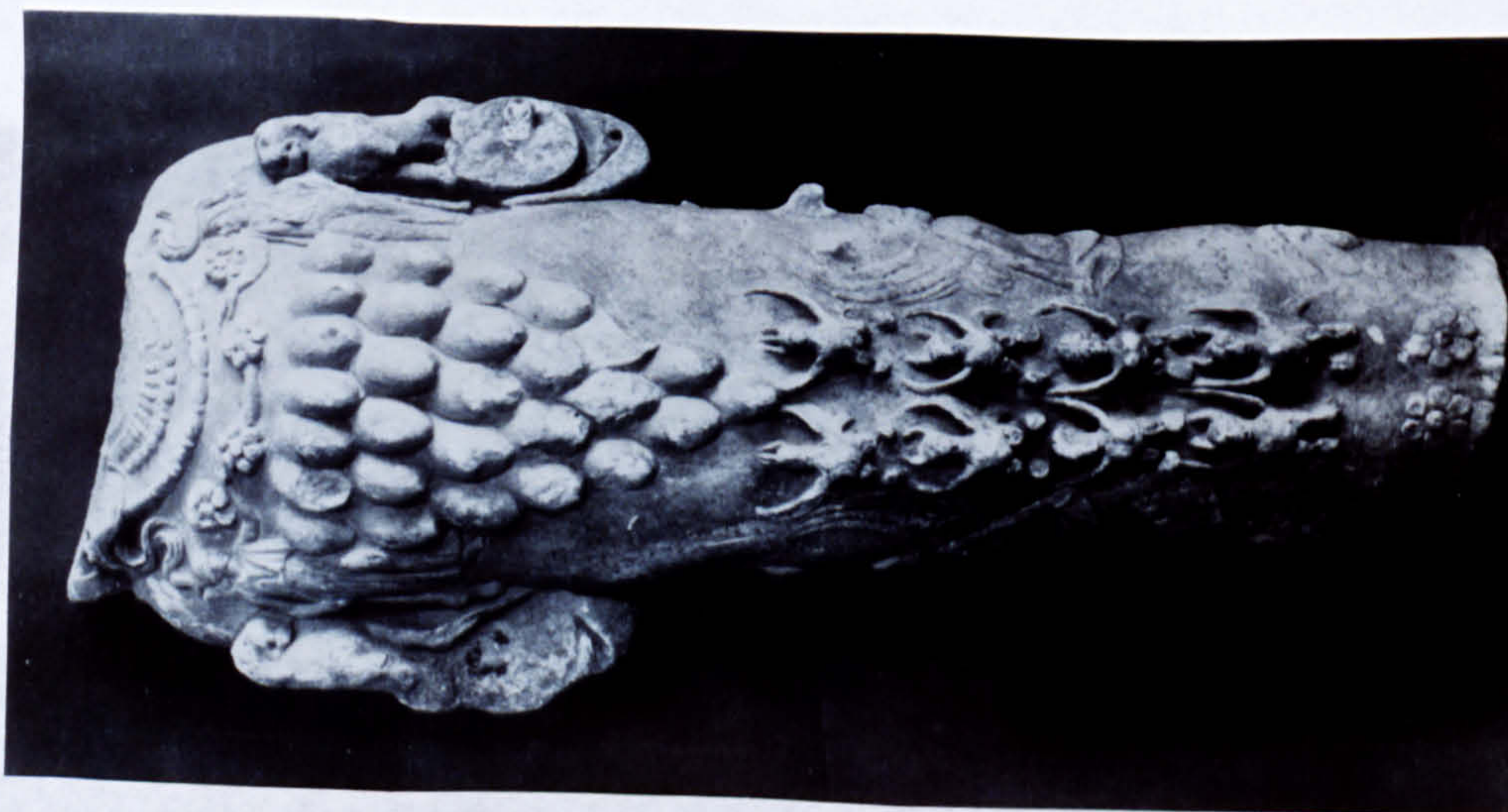


Fig. 45 Statue of Artemis of Ephesos, Athens NM 1638

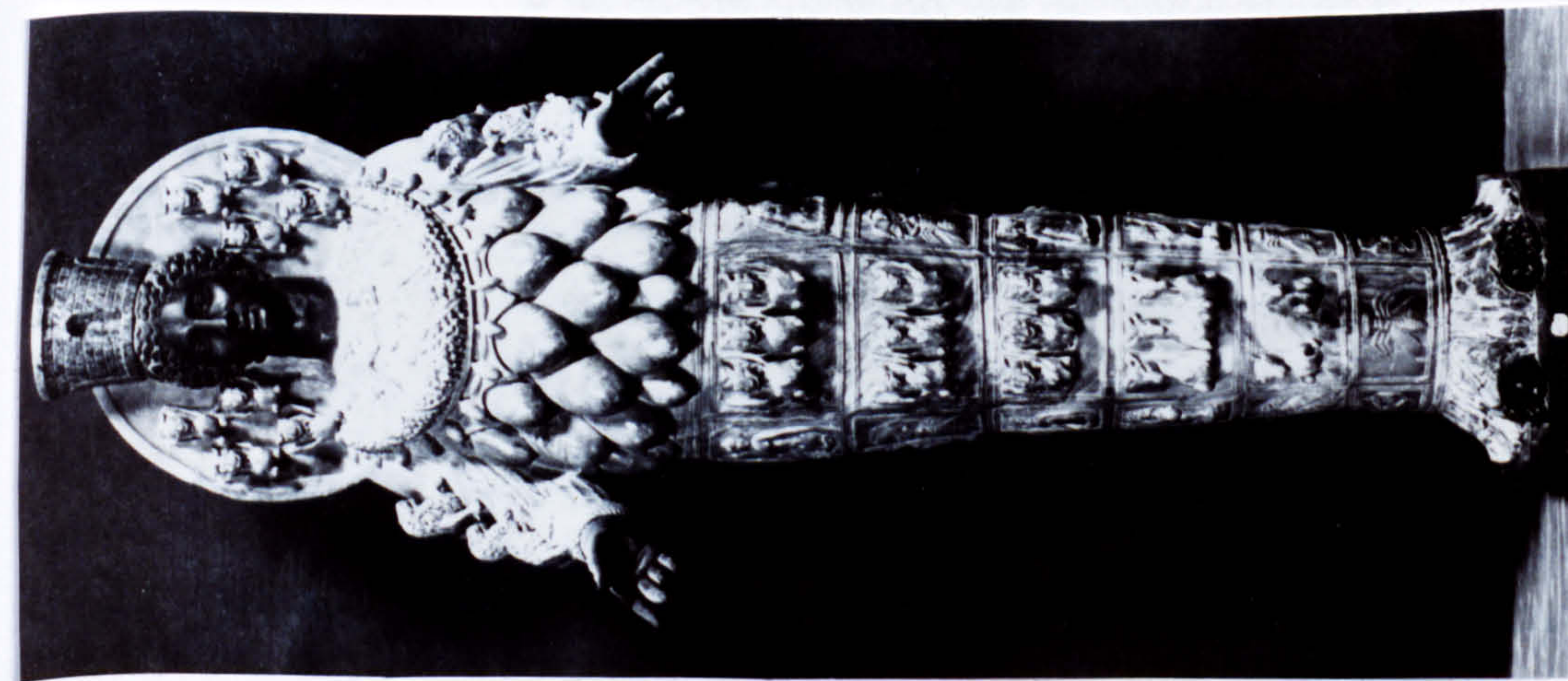


Fig. 47 Statue of Artemis of Ephesos, Naples 665

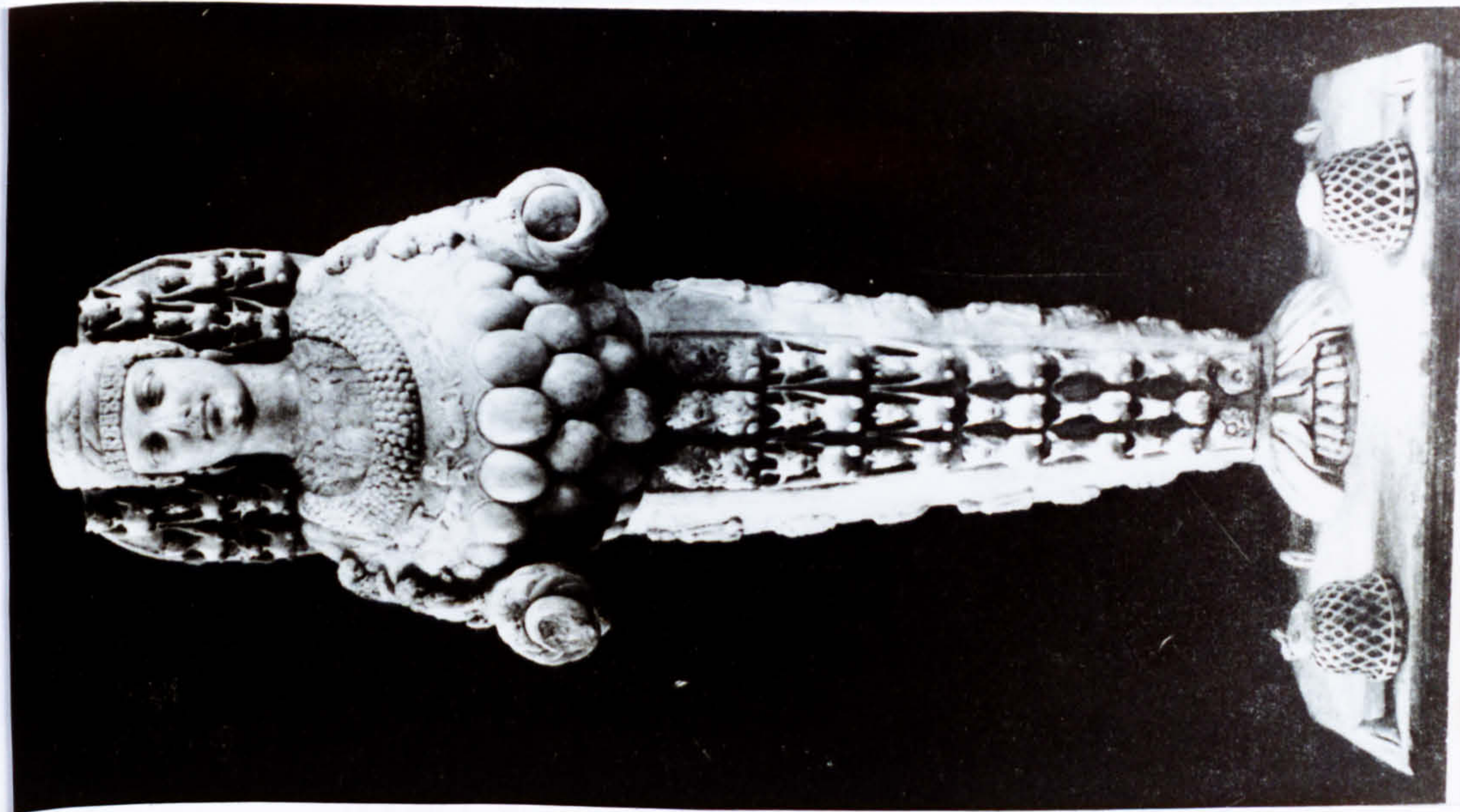


Fig. 48 The so-called "Beautiful Artemis", Selçuk



Fig. 49 Artemis of Sardis. Coin from Silandos



Fig. 50 Artemis of Sardis and Artemis of Ephesos



Fig. 51 Coin from Samos with the representation of Hera



Fig. 52 Coin from Samos with the representation of Hera

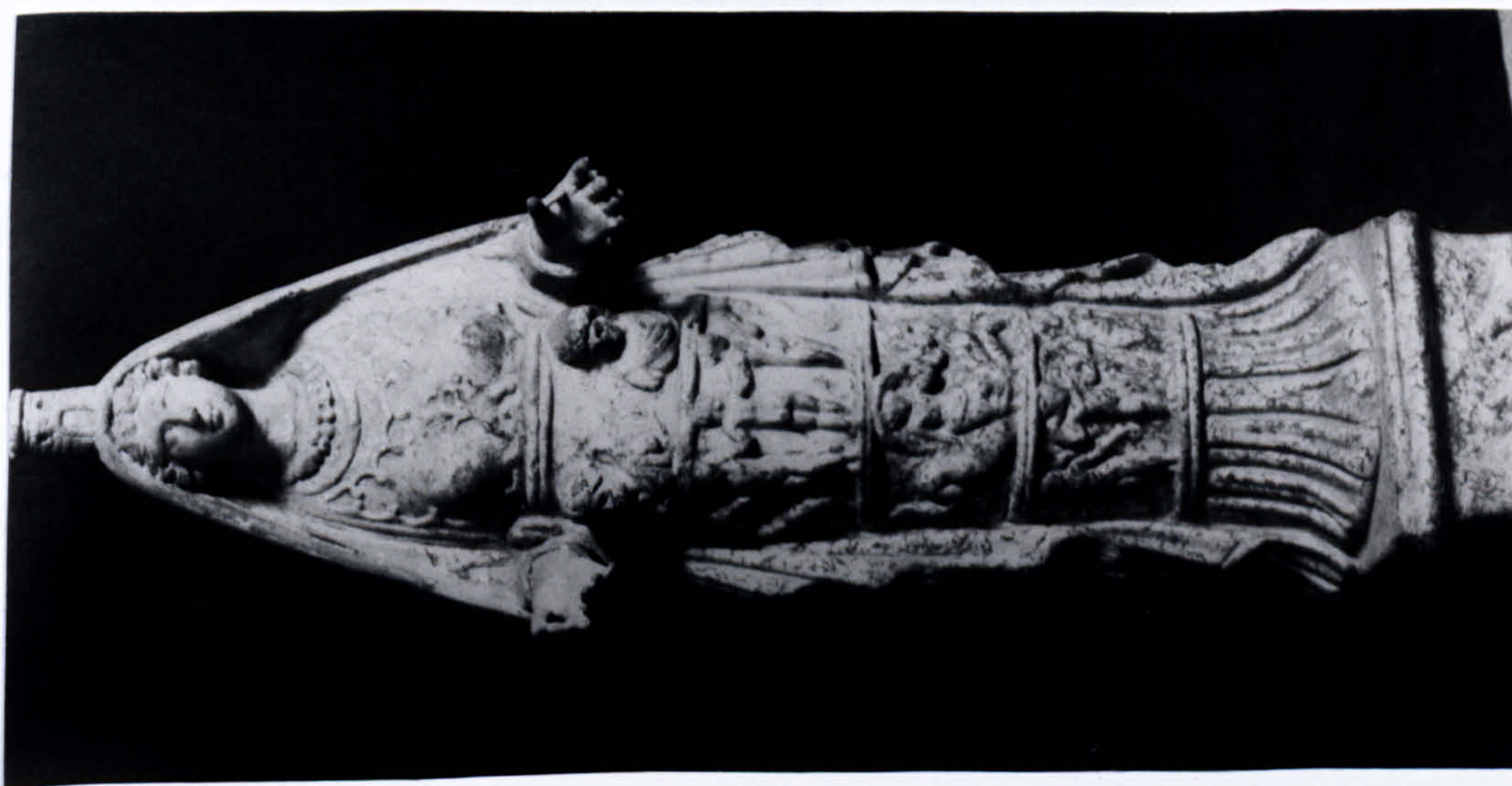


Fig. 53 Aphrodite from Aphrodisias, Naples



Fig. 54 Artemis Kyndias of Bargyllia, Piraeus Museum



Fig. 55 Athenian Archaistic tetradrachm



Fig. 56 a Archaistic coin from Abdera



Fig. 56 b Archaistic coin from Abdera



Fig. 57 Archaistic Athena on an oinochoe from the Athenian Agora.
Agora Museum P 14793

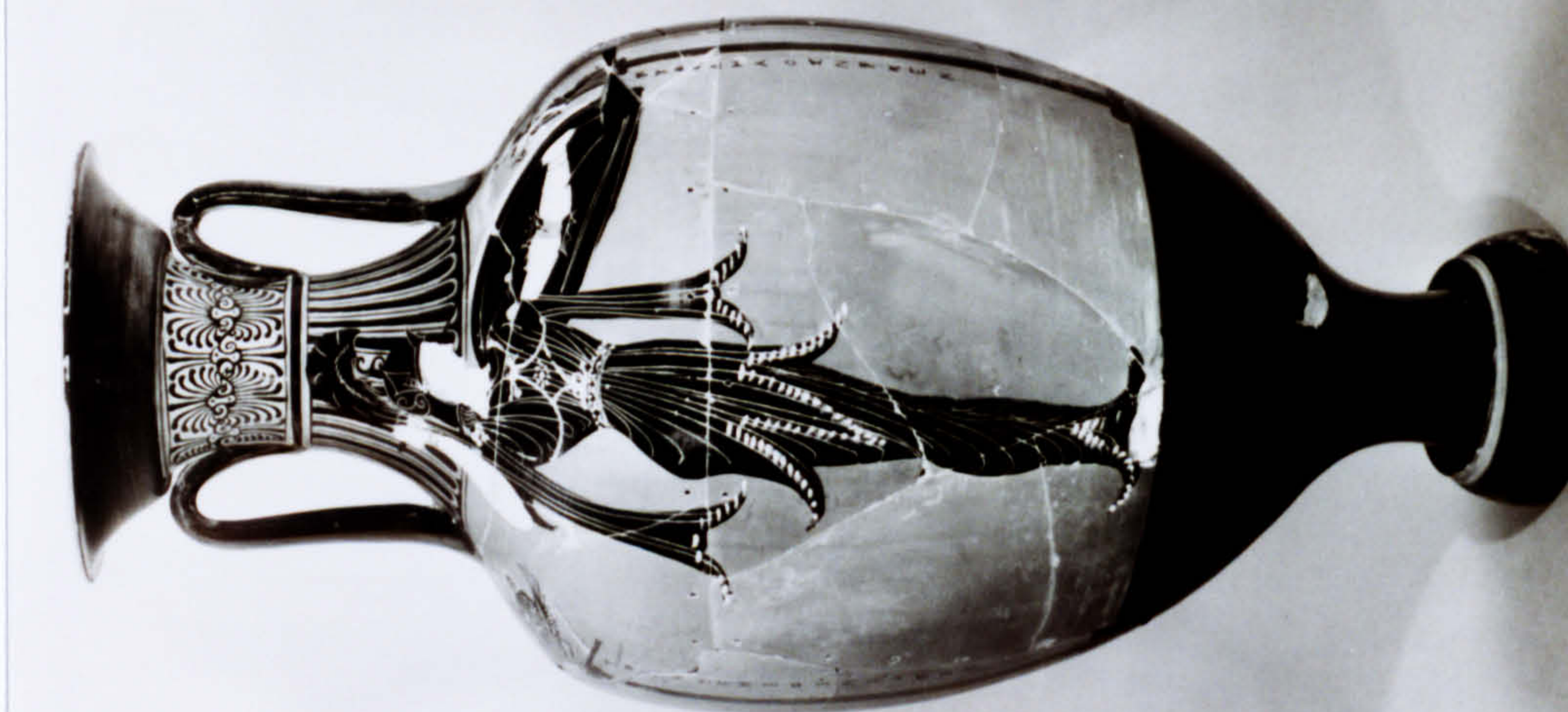


Fig. 59 Panathenaic amphora, London BM 608

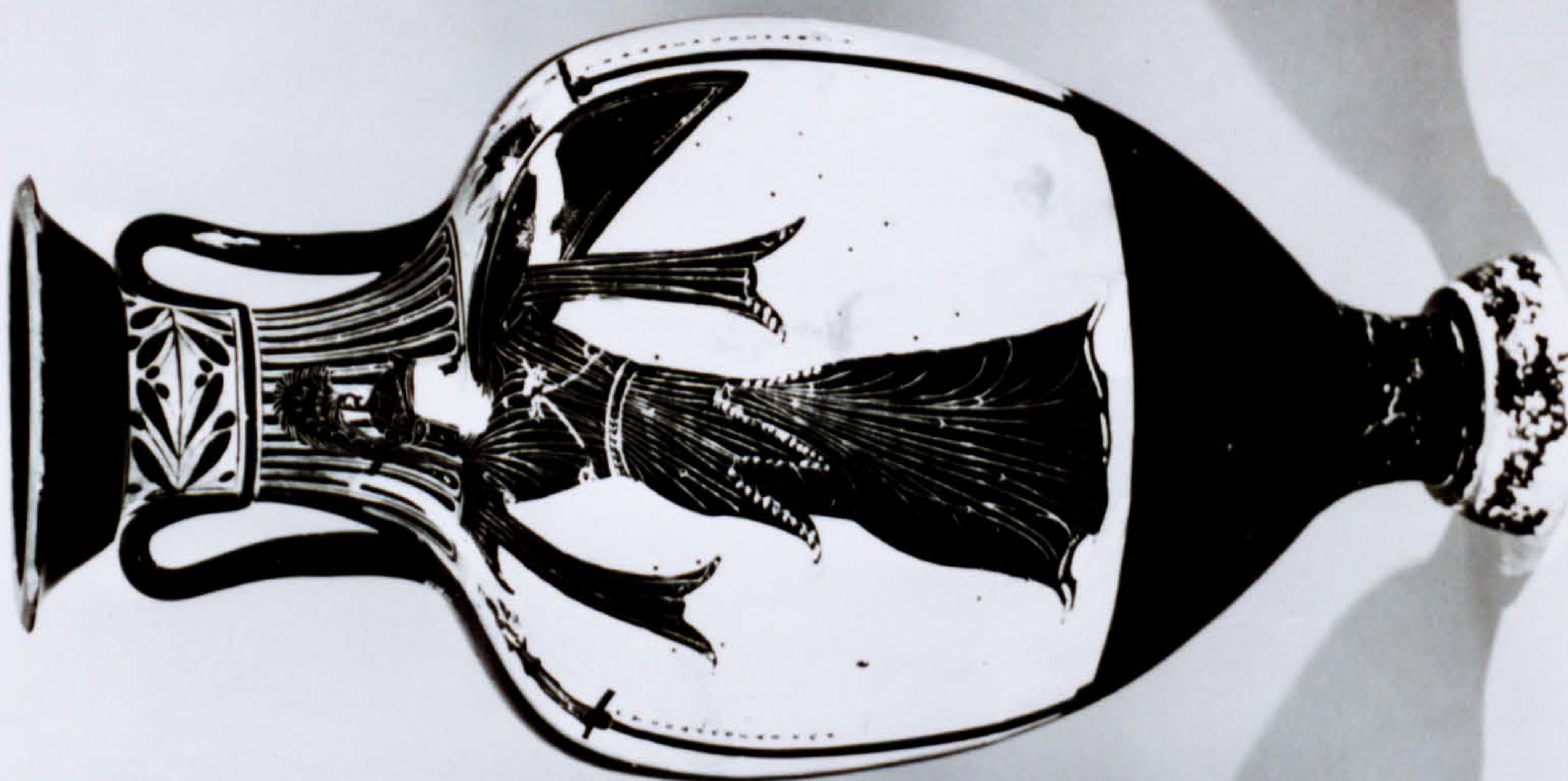


Fig. 58 Panathenaic amphora, London BM 607



Fig. 60 The Parthenon metope N 25

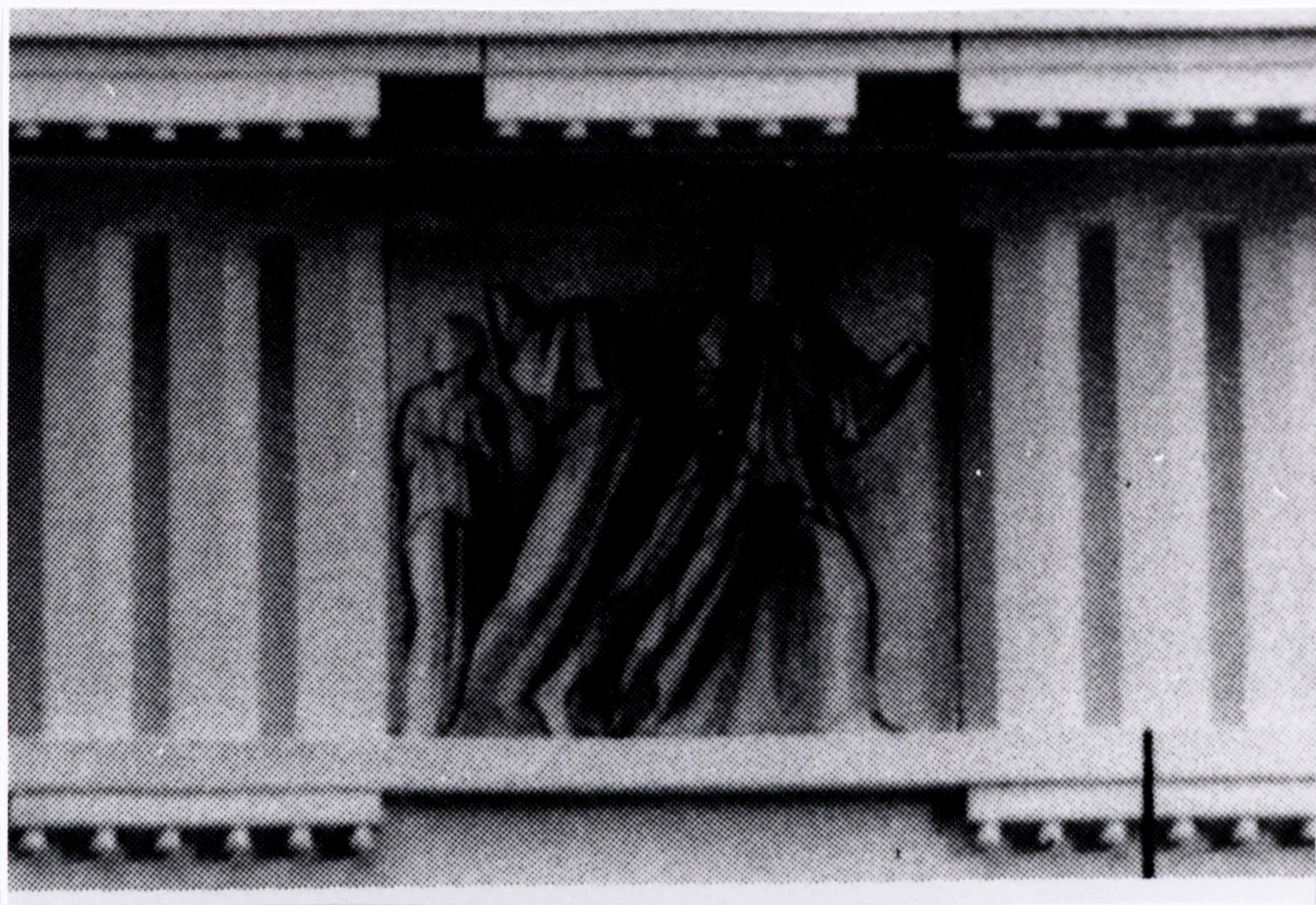


Fig. 61 The Parthenon metope S 18



Fig. 62 Xoanon (G) from the Argive Heraion



Fig. 63 Xoanon from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros



Fig. 64 Treaty relief between Athens and Neapolis. Athens NM 1480



Fig. 65 Kore from the Athenian Agora, S 2119



Fig. 66 The Epidauros base, Athens NM 1425



Fig. 67 Frieze with Erotes from the Acropolis, Athens NM 1451-1452



Fig. 68 b A goddess, Athens NM 54



Fig. 68 a Hermes Kriophoros, Athens NM 54



Fig. 69 a Zeus from the Four Gods Base, Acropolis 610

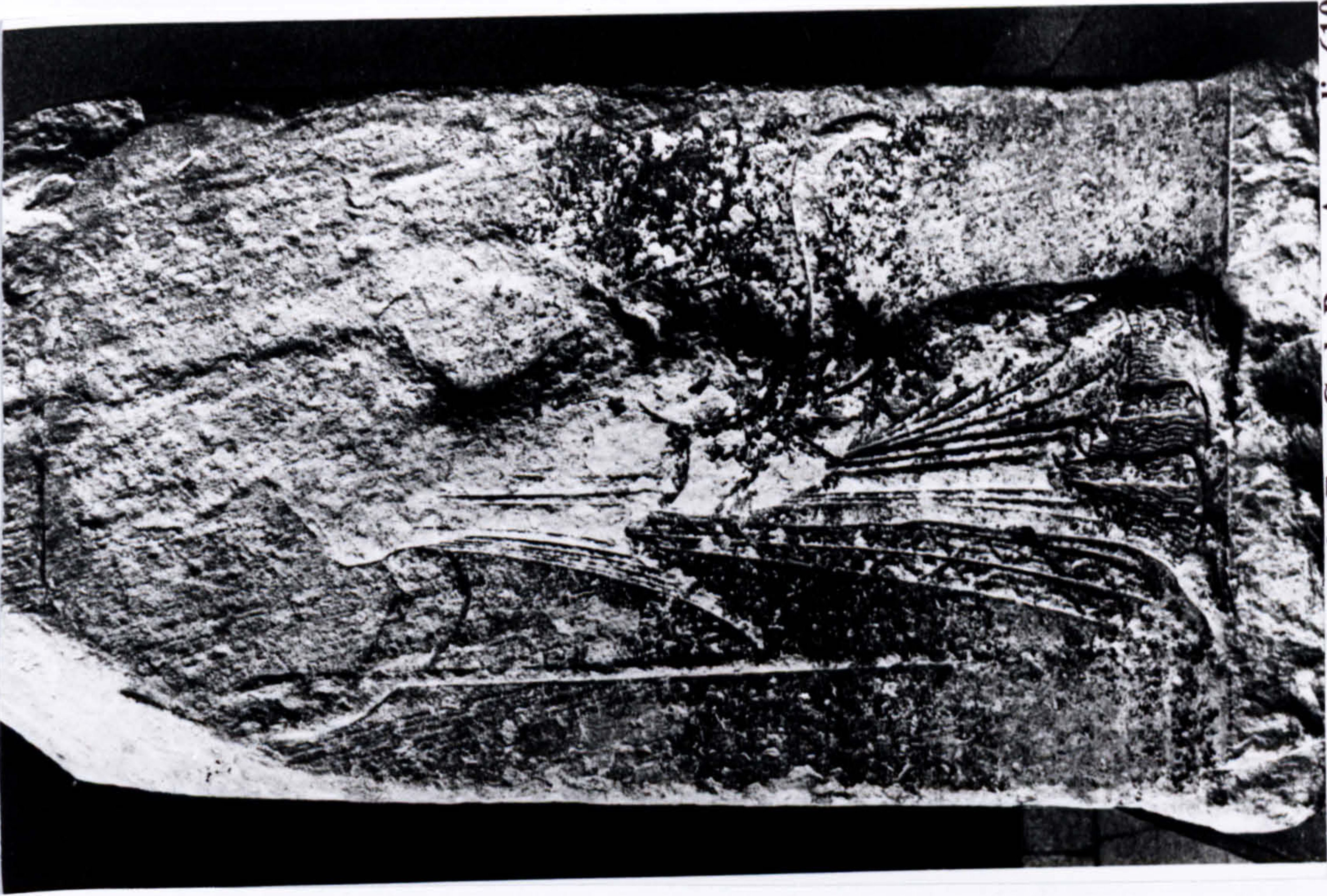


Fig. 69 b Athena from the Four Gods Base, Acropolis 610



Fig. 69 c Hephaistos from the Four Gods Base, Acropolis 610



Fig. 69 d Hermes from the Four Gods Base, Acropolis 610



Fig. 70 Dionysos from Chalandri, Athens NM 3727



Fig. 71 The Samothrace frieze

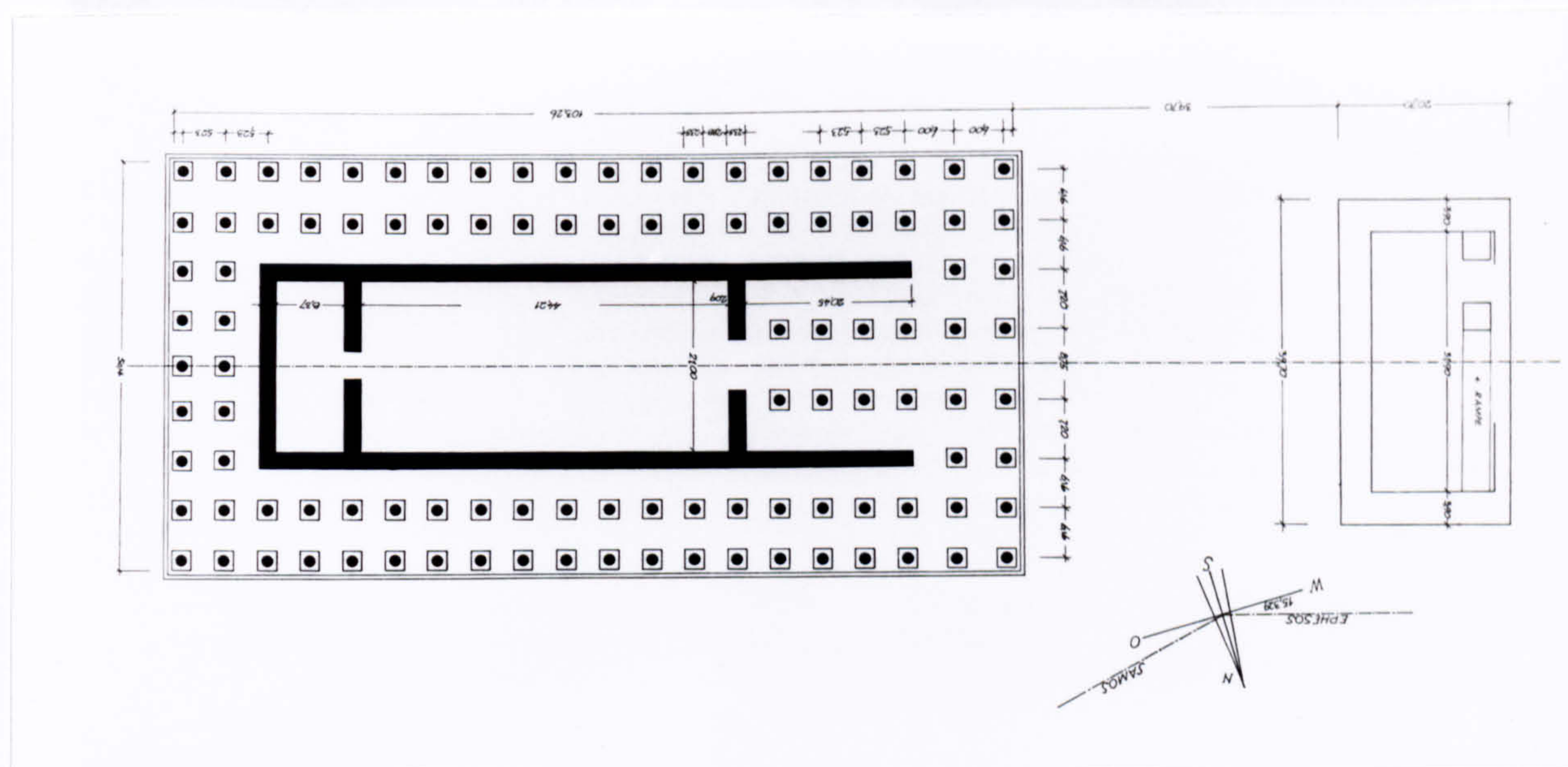


Fig. 72 Ground plan of the Archaic Artemision

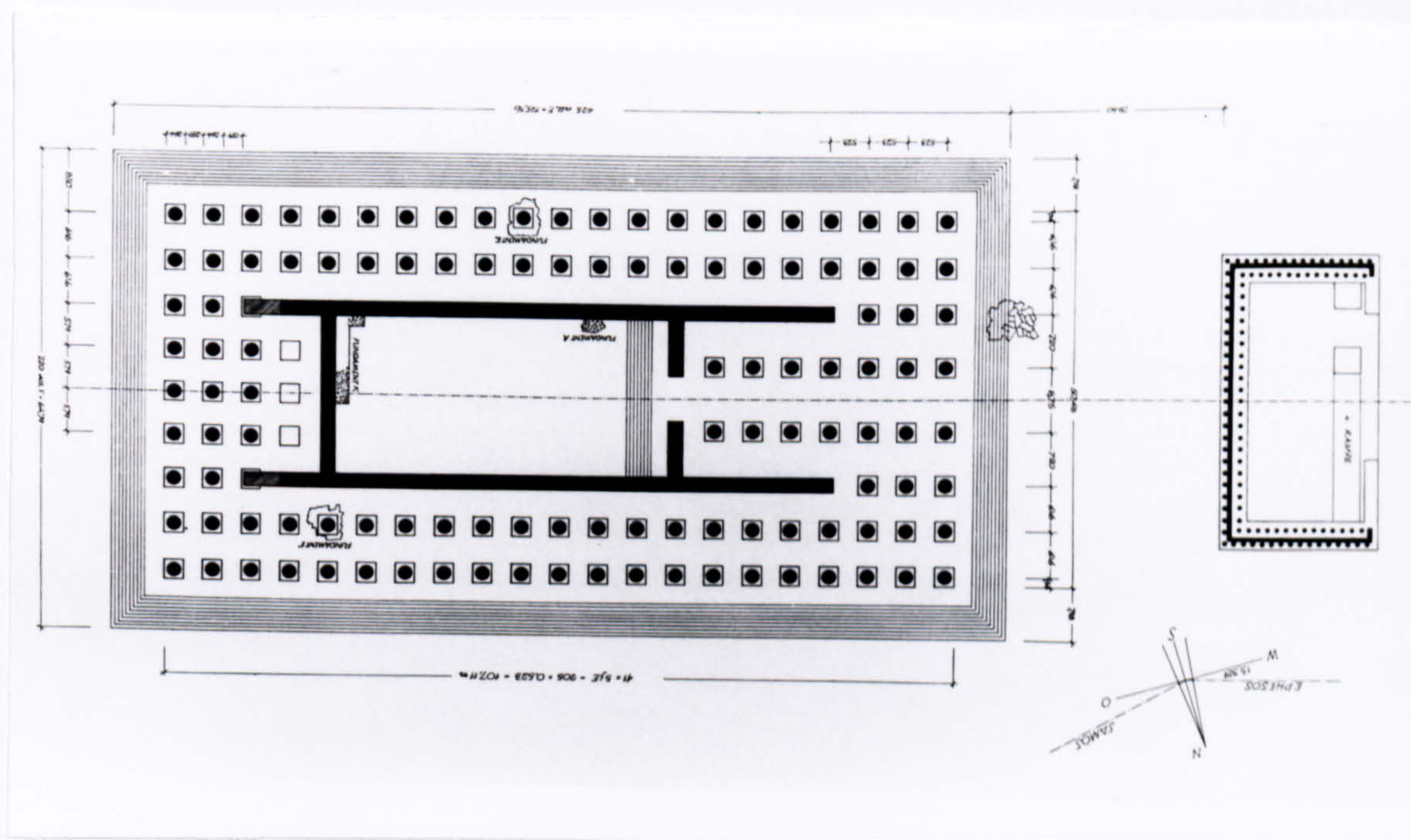


Fig. 73 Ground plan of the Classical Artemision

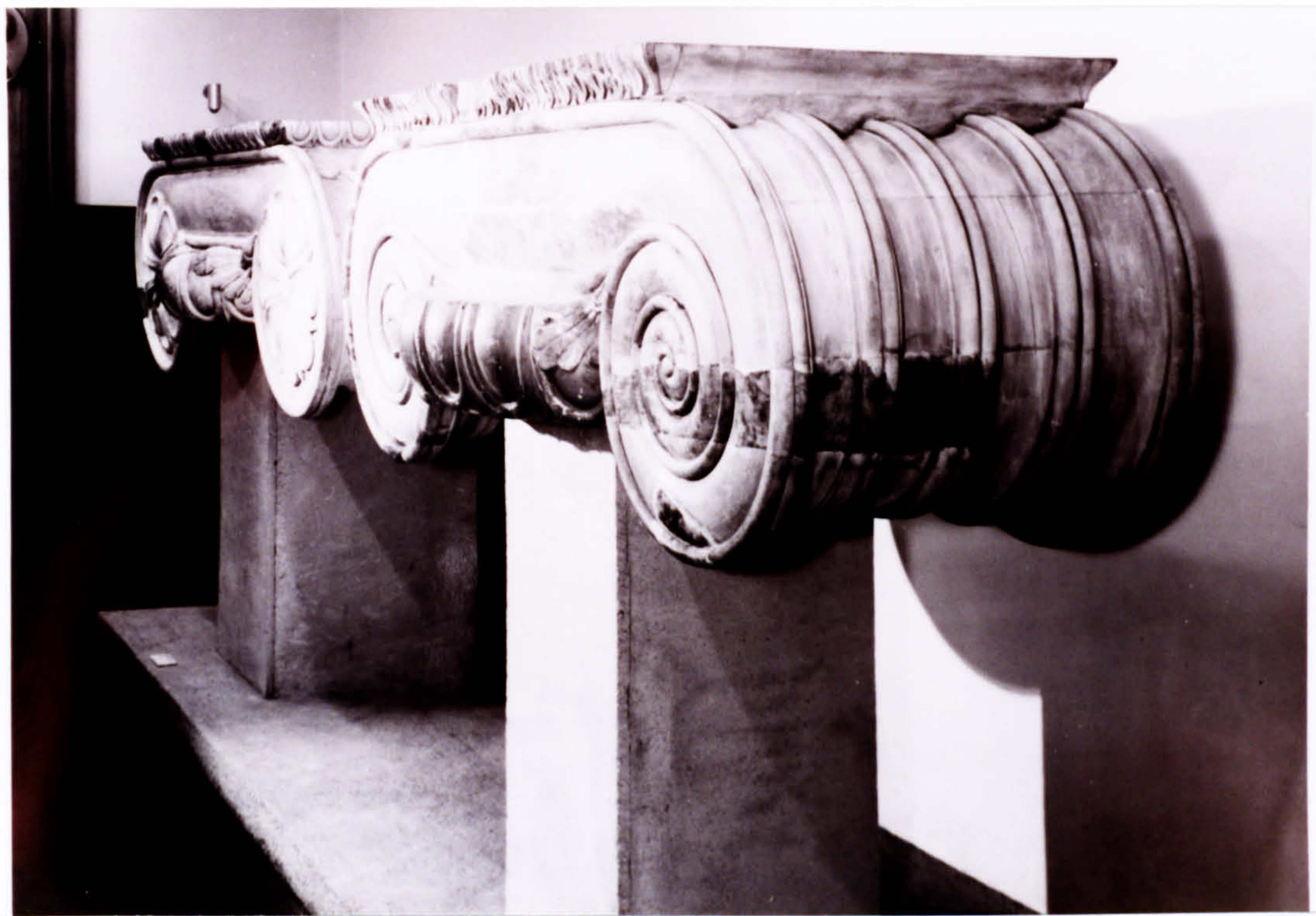


Fig. 74 a Capital of the Archaic Artemision

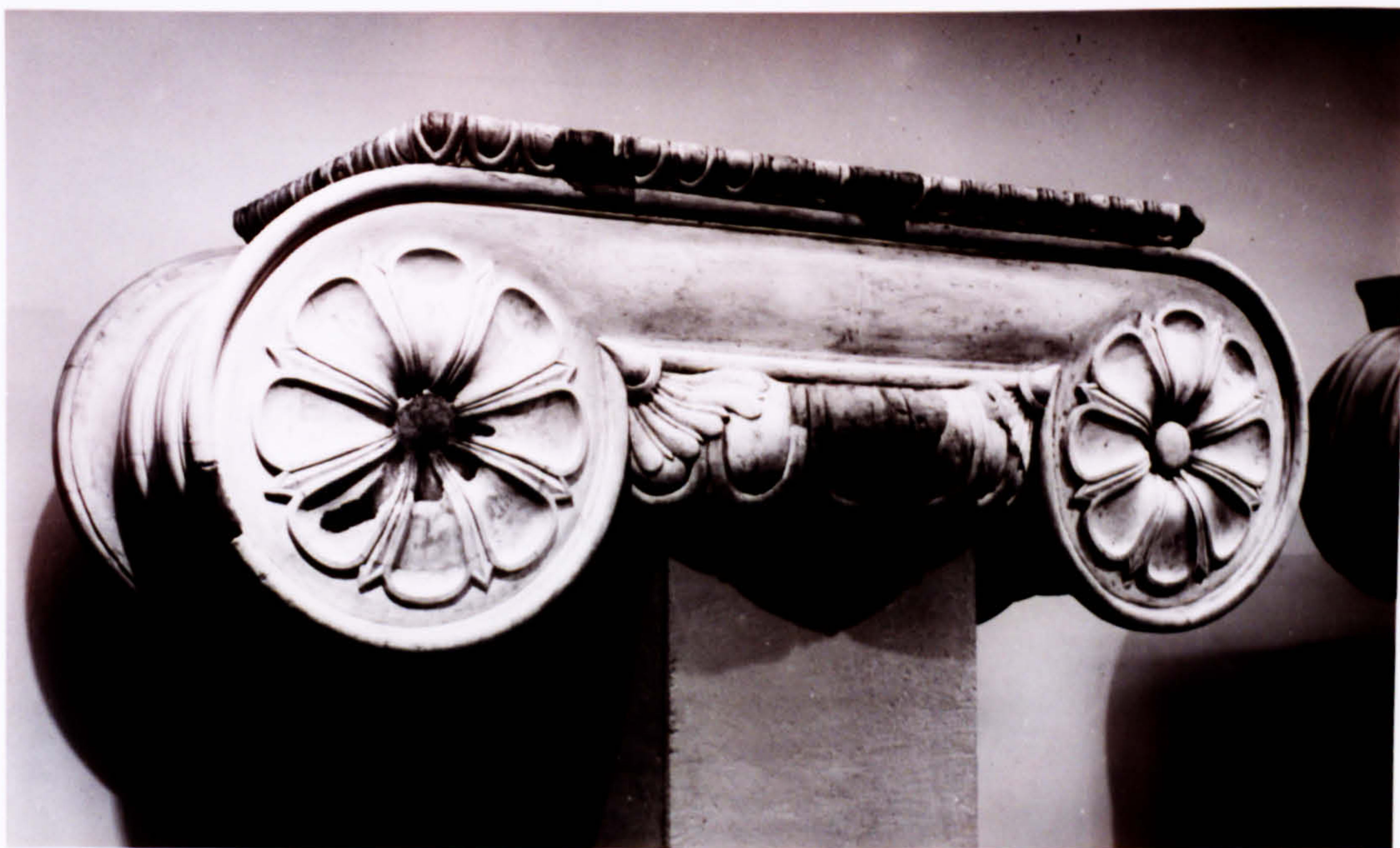


Fig. 74 b Capital of the Archaic Artemision

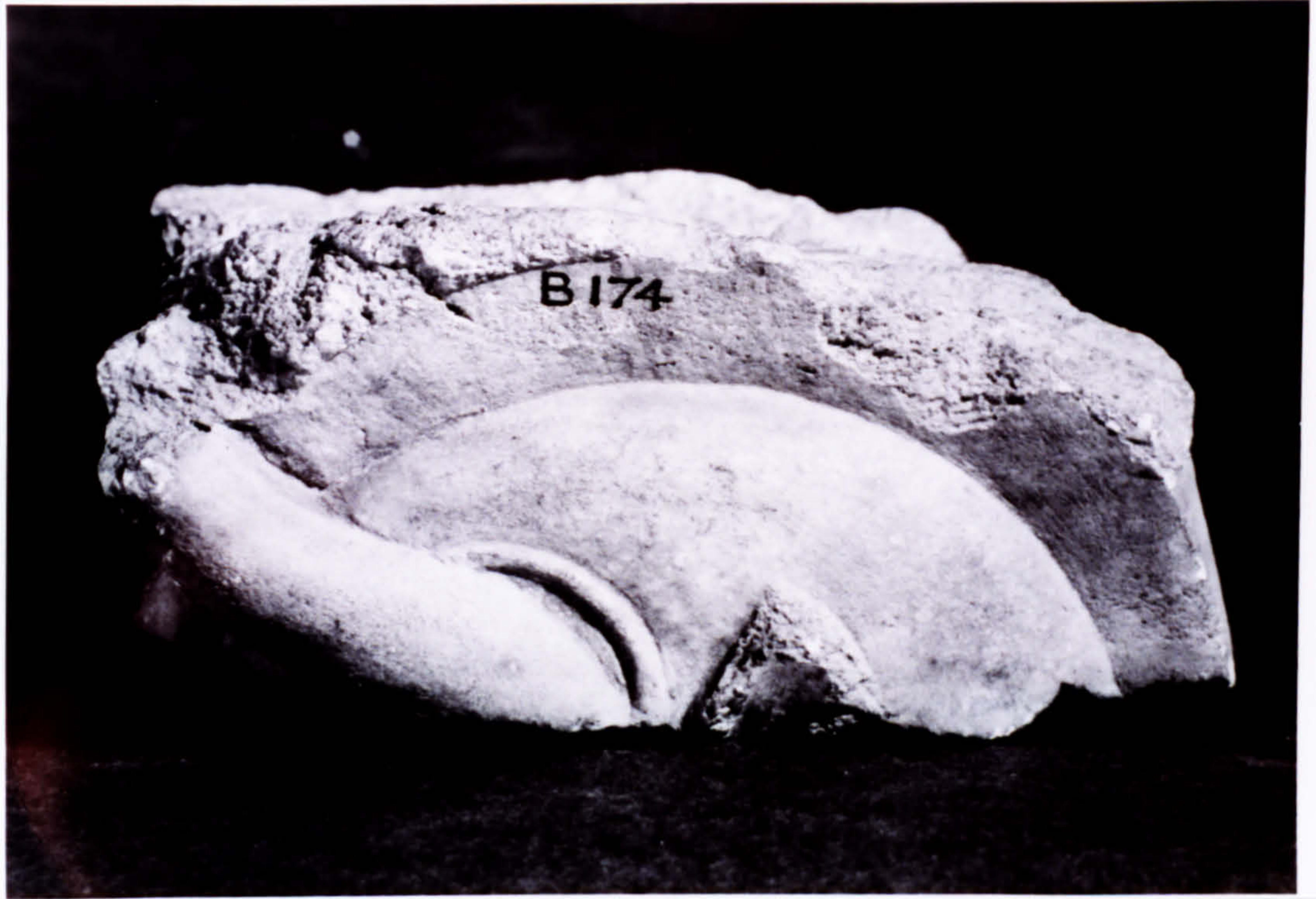


Fig. 75 Part of the sima frieze, a helmet with bovine horns



Fig. 76 Columna Caelata from the Classical Artemision, BM 1206



Fig. 77 Decorated column neck from Halicarnassus

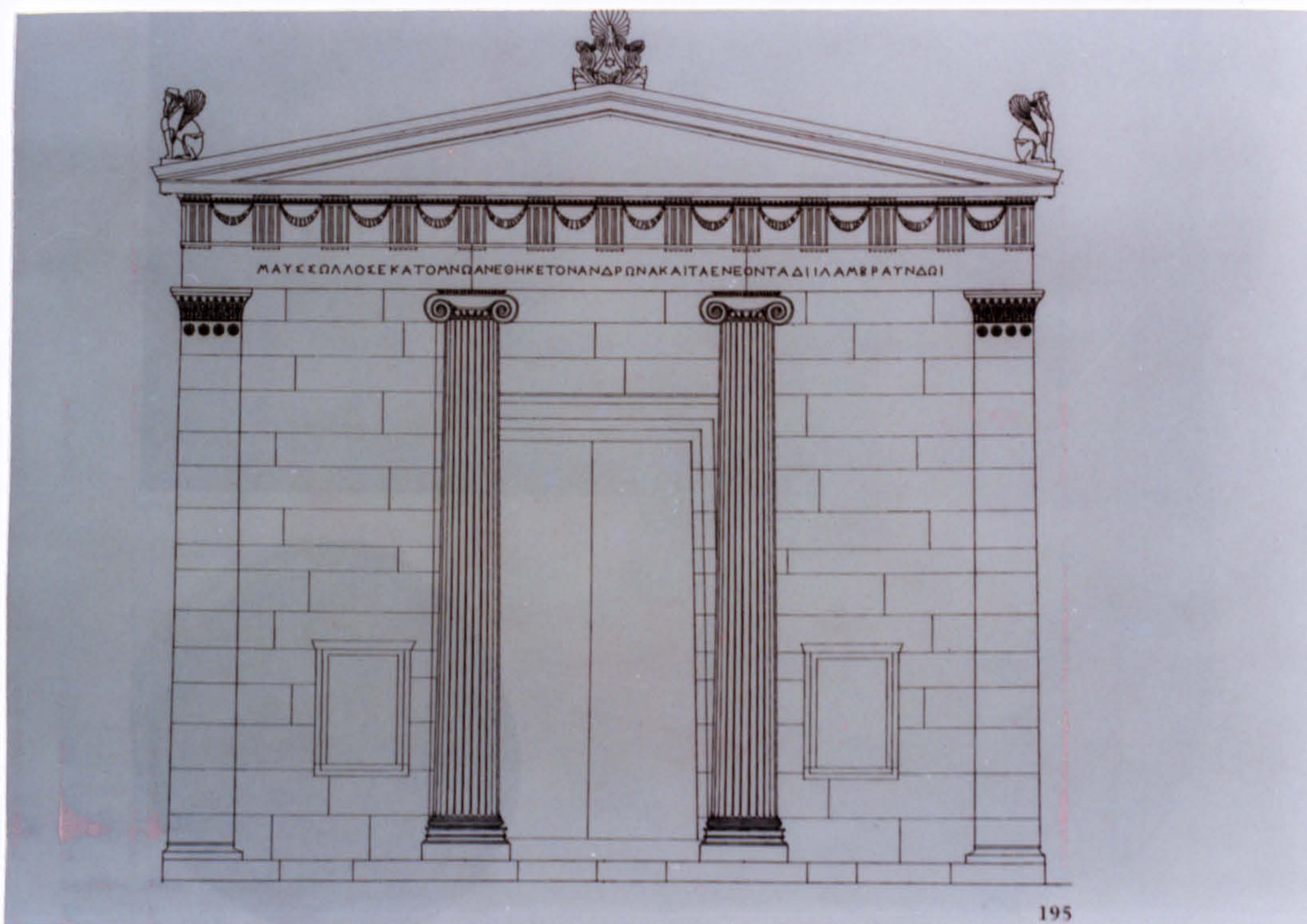


Fig. 78 Mausolus' Andron (B) at Labraunda

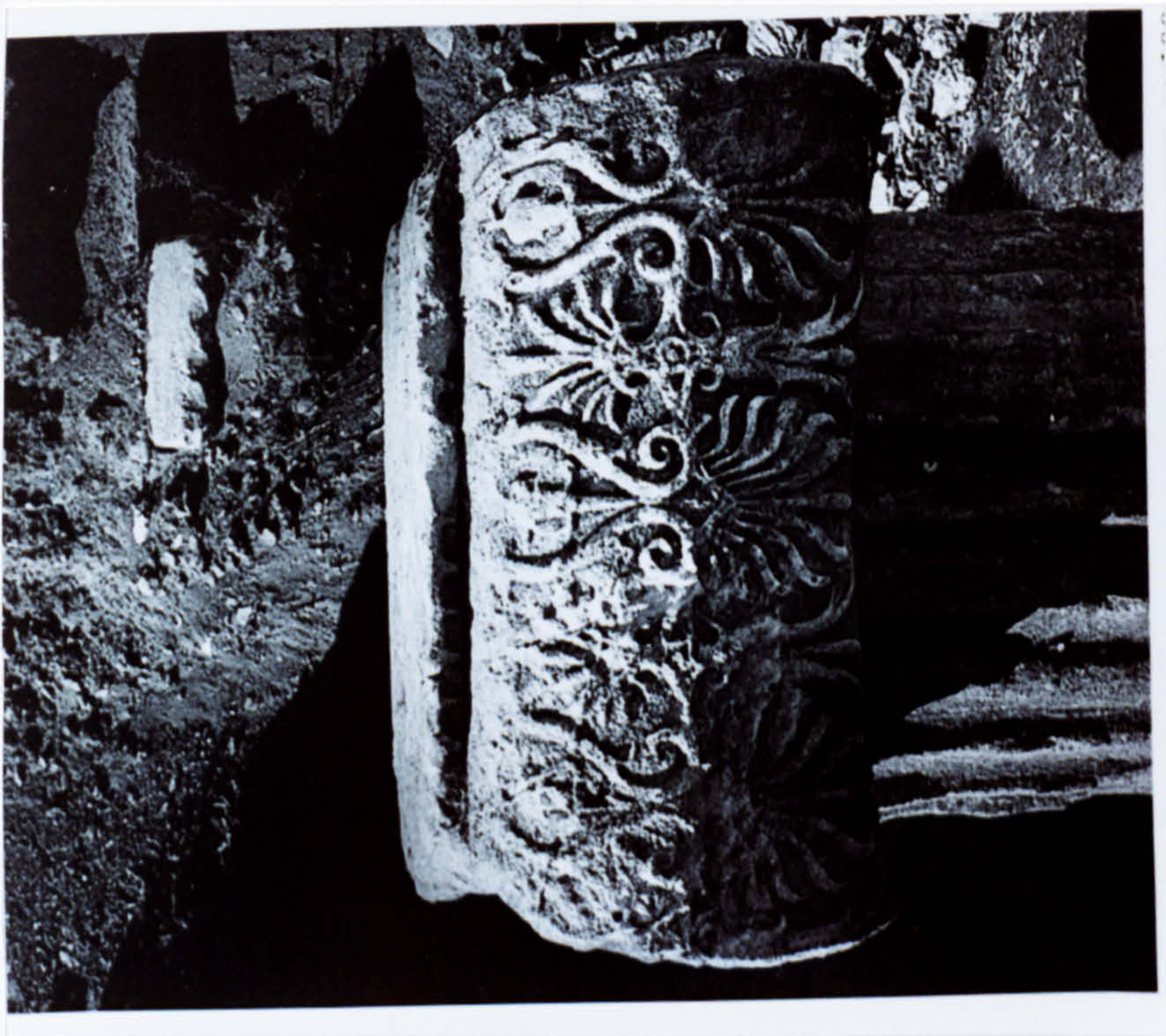


Fig. 79 Decorated Ionic capital from Labraunda

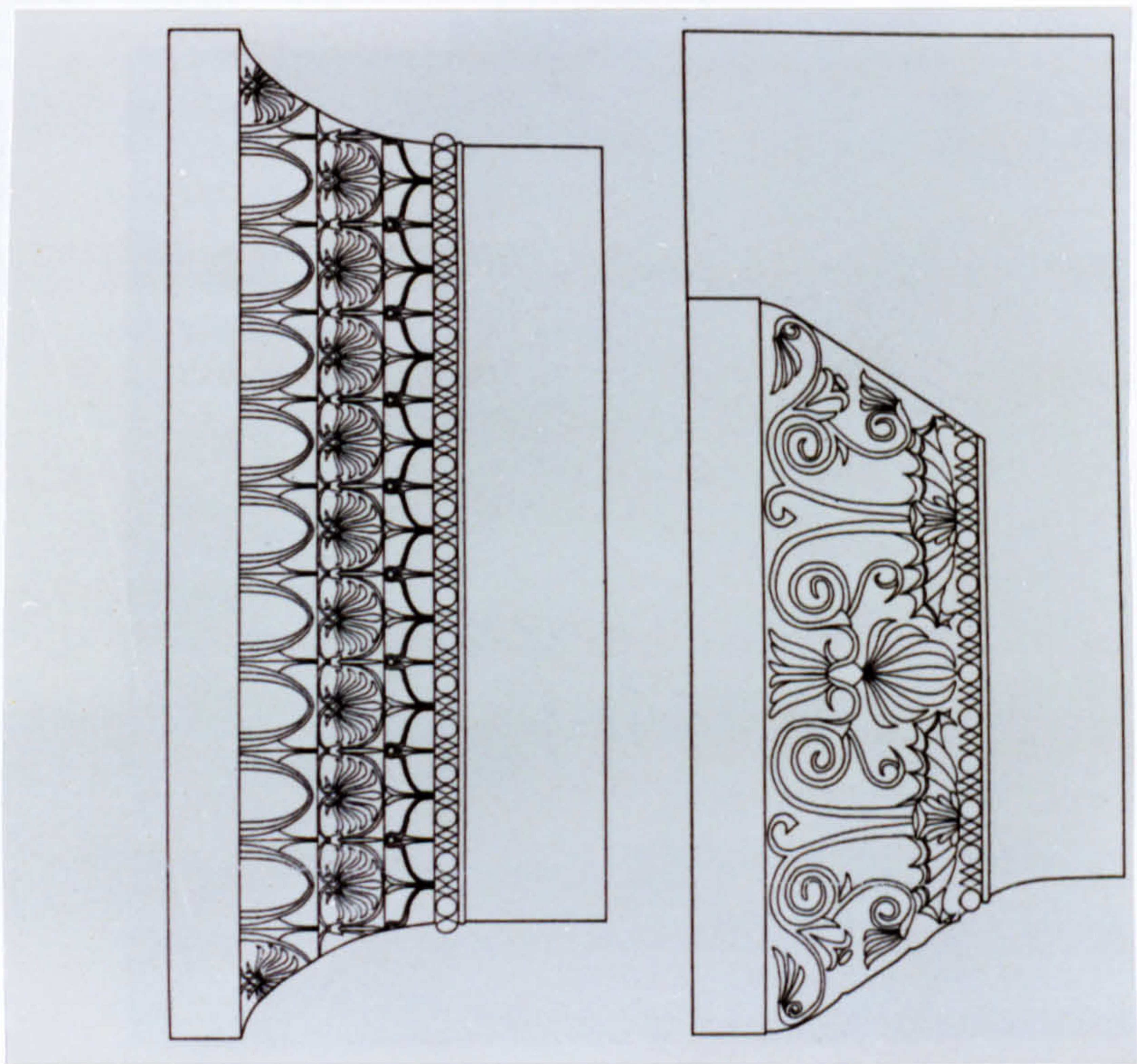


Fig. 80 a Decorated anta capital from Labraunda



Fig. 80 b Decorated anta capital from Labraunda

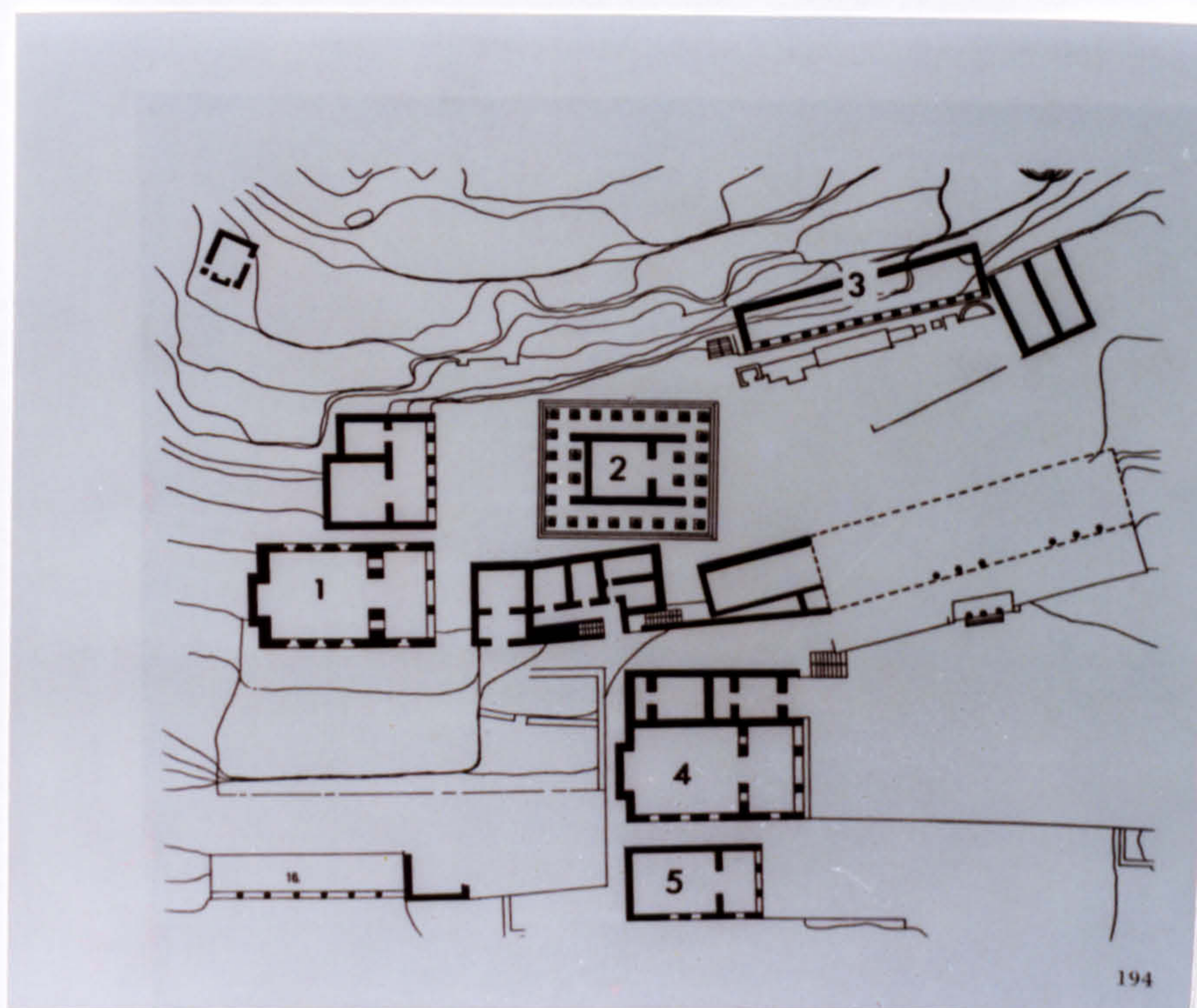


Fig. 81 Ground plan of the Labraunda sanctuary